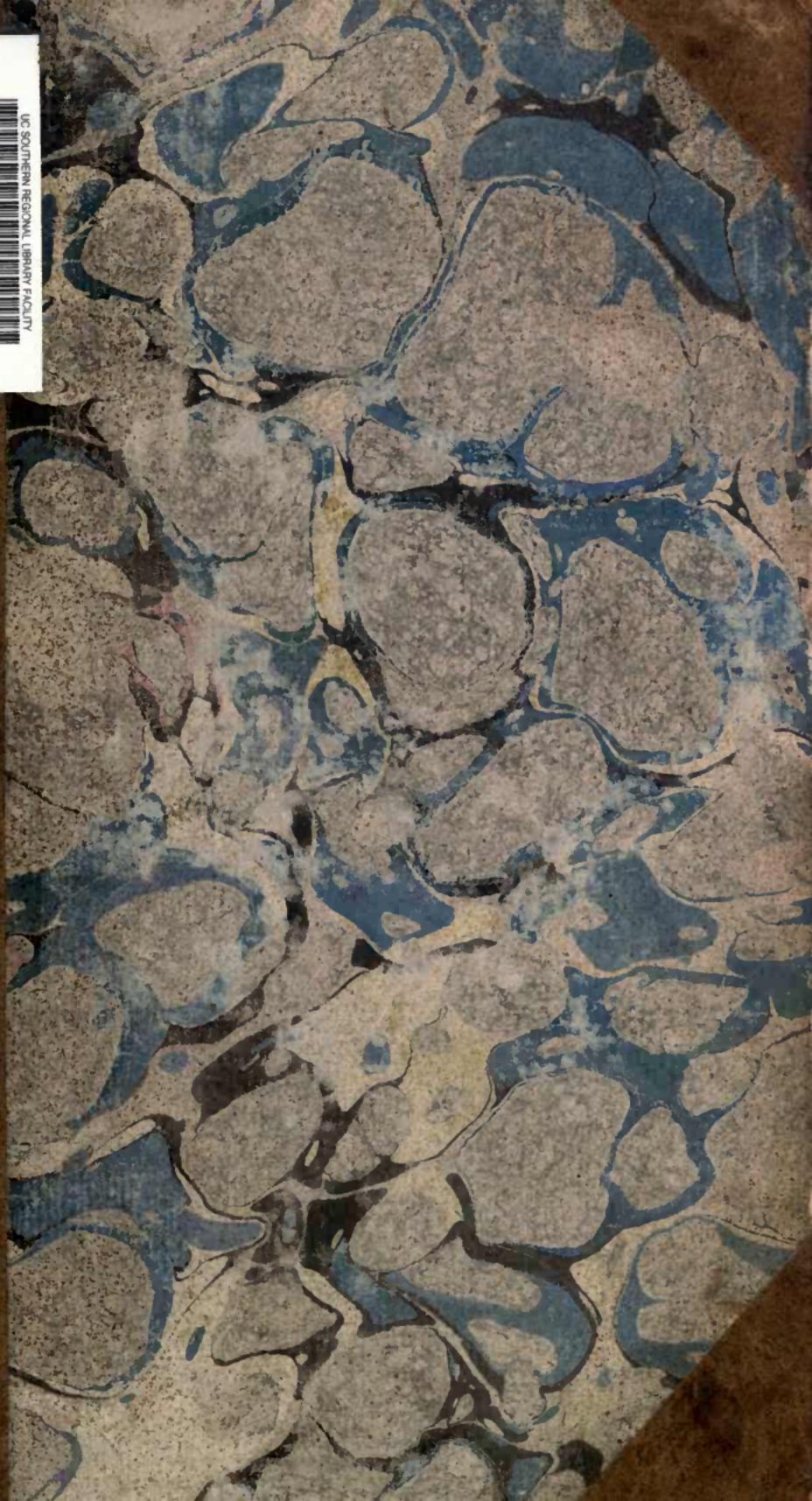


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TRACTS
ON THE
SUBJECT
OF AN
UNION,

BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND,
VOLUME THE FIFTH.

CONTAINING

I. Doctor Drennan's second Letter to Mr. Pitt.	IX. Constitutional Objections to the Government of Ireland by a seperate Legislature, by Theobald M'Kenna.
II. An Answer to M'Kenna's Memoire by an Orangeman.	X. Legal Arguments occasioned by the Project of a UNION, between Great Britain, and Ireland.
III. Bousfield's Letter to the Citizens of Cork.	XI. Debates in the Irish House of Commons on the UNION January 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, and 28th, 1799.
IV. Observations on Bousfield's Letter.	XII. Debates in the British House of Commons on the King's message January 23d, 1799.
V. Dean Tucker and Doctor Clark's Arguments in favour of an Incorporate UNION between Great Britain and Ireland.	XIII. Debate in the Irish House of Commons May the 15th, 1799.
VI. The Political, Commercial, and Civil State of Ireland by the Rev. Doctor Clark.	
VII. Hints to the People by Stevens.	
VIII. Considerations on the Affairs of Ireland 1799.	

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О ИЧИАТИКО

Издания

Second Edition.

A

LETTER

FROM

BOUSFIELD, Esq.

TO THE

CITIZENS OF CORK.

If, ye Powers divine !
Ye mark the movements of this nether World
And bring them to account, crush, crush these Vipers,
Who singled out by the Community,
To guard their rights, shall for a grasp of ore,
Or paltry Office, sell 'em to the Foe.

TRAGEDY OF MAHOMET.

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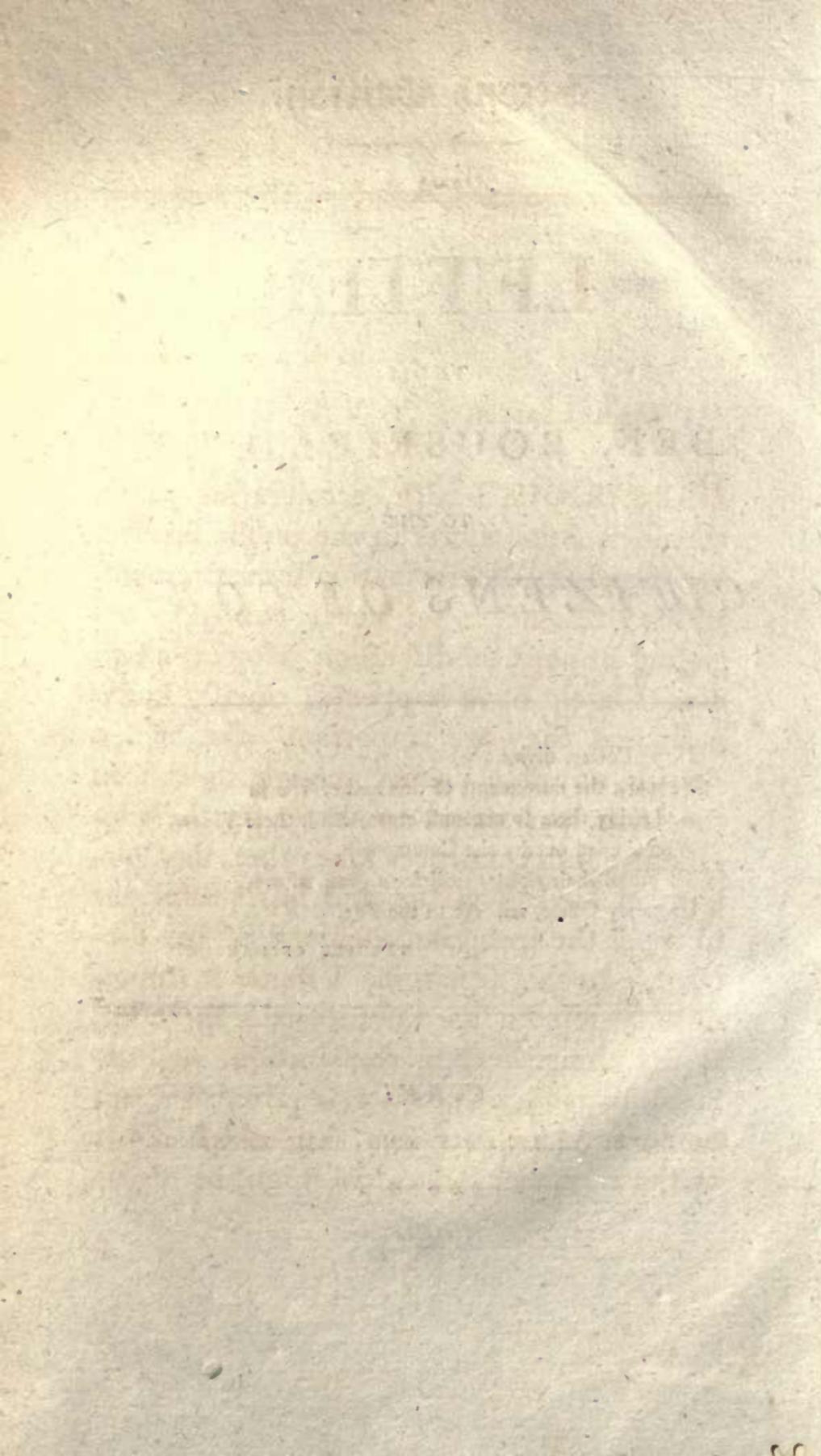
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GENTLEMEN,

PRECARIOUS health, accelerating years, and ineffectual efforts in the public service, had fixed my determination for retirement, and my resolution for never publickly engaging in political discussion. However two events lately have happened, equally unexpected as they are important---the one, a British minister daring enough to call on the Irish Parliament to furrender their legislative Independence---the other, that Parliament having virtue and spirit sufficient to repel the imperious demand of the dictator. In this situation, I found it impossible to remain an unconcerned spectator. Every thing dear in constitution, and valuable in publick character, required to be upheld; on such an occasion, the feeblest efforts of the humblest individual might be useful.

It is necessary to bring to recollection a meeting of Freemen lately held at the City Court-House. Their Resolutions and Address to the Throne, on the subject of the intended Union, have been published in almost every paper, English as well as Irish. It appears as if the minister, with a malignant kind of exultation, exposed them as specimens of our wisdom and patriotism, and as trophies of his victories and triumphs. Individuals, also, in our Parliament, supposing them to express the general sense, have thrown out the imputation of Bœotian stupidity, and Bœotian perfidy against this City, which, as it is the first in Trade, ought to be the first in Independence.

Having heard by accident of that Meeting, as it was not advertised in the public papers, I attended it, accompanied by Mr. BEAMISH, a gentleman, whose integrity, public spirit, and extensive commercial dealings render him truly respectable. We endeavoured to dissuade them from an act of such imprudence and temerity. We appealed to their candor and good sense, and forewarned

forewarnened them of the obloquy and disgrace, in which the whole City would be involved by promulgating opinions conceived in error, founded in ignorance, degradatory of national character, and ruinous in their political consequences. But all expostulation was fruitless, admonition of no avail, and argument ineffectual. We were left in a small minority, as has been often my fate, and had no other consolation, but the consciousness of having done our duty.

One would immagine by the impatient anxiety of that Meeting, that it was rather composed of a number of impassioned lovers panting for the fisternal embrace, than an assemblage of grave Citizens, met for the purpose of deliberating on a question of the utmost importance. Bolder than the minister, who in the speech to Parliament, only slightly glanced at the subject of an Union, they incorporated it in their Resolutions and Address; anticipated his designs, and transcended his darings. It is to be observed, that though there were some commercial men, who attended, yet not one commercial

commercial argument was adduced in favour of the Resolutions. A mysterious silence prevailed, as often the mantle of ignorance as of wisdom; but candor must admit, that those gentlemen were well versed in political arithmetic, and on the doctrine of numbers the firm of the company relied with confidence.

To one, who was not acquainted with the patriotism and independent spirit so prevalent in this City, that Meeting would have appeared more like a little juncto of men met to promote some favourite job of their respective patrons, than an assemblage of **FREEMEN** to convey their opinions on a great national and imperial question. Without meaning the smallest disrespe&t to any individual, it becomes necessary to mention, that the Meeting was chiefly composed of Contractors for Provisions, for Army Clothing, for Gun-powder, nay, Contractors for the Corporation, and a large portion of the gentlemen of the Revenue. They were parcels of different parties arranged under one common banner, a sort of tricoloured flag, in which the orange, the green, and the blue

blue were happily blended. Though their principles were unquestionably loyal, yet their measures, imperceptible to themselves, partook of the revolutionary hue----the degradation of the nobility, and extinction of the national legislature, were those that probably would have led to revolution. Then would his Majesty's throne totter beneath his feet ; his sceptre quiver in his hand ; his diadem tremble on his head, and the constitution be dissolved.

I must remark, that if these gentlemen, who attended at the Mansion-House to counsel the council for calling a meeting, were seriously desirous to collect the public opinion on the intended Union, they would not, sagacious as they are, have recommended so circumscribed a requisition, which excluded all Freeholders and opulent Householders, equally, if not more interested than themselves ; a call of such little publicity too, could only have been intended for a select party. It is not supposed, that there were an hundred Freemen present at that meeting ; and though they were sufficiently numerous

numerous to subject the City to obloquy, yet, they surely were not adequate to express its sense.

It appeared, therefore to me, and to many others, indispensably necessary to endeavour to rescue the character of this City from imputation and disgrace. But, it was a duty of a superior nature to thank those illustrious patriots, who so lately and successfully vindicated the Independence of this realm; and as detraction and misrepresentation are too much the fashion of the day, we judged it would be right to reiterate our loyalty to our King, and our attachment to the sister-kingdom. There not being any probability of the magistrates complying with our wishes, had we addressed them to call a meeting, we sent an advertisement to the papers; an invitation as comprehensive as the importance of the subject demanded. We did not, tis true, annex our names to that advertisement for convening our fellow-citizens; because, we were not vain or arrogant enough to suppose, that they would have added any impulse to the sense of duty; and because,

we

we thought, the purposes were of so laudable and so propellent a nature, that they would better rest on their own intrinsic merit, than on the adventitious aid of names, even far more respectable than ours. It was measures we expected the opulent and independant inhabitants of this city, would have chiefly considered. To names, since I have had any knowledge of this city or county, public attention has been too much directed. If a few of those, vulgarly called great men, even hint their approbation of any public measure, it is sufficient to raise an host of advocates; not from the dictates of conscience---not from the decisions of judgment, as time is not allowed for their operation, but from an habitual servility of manners; the immediate impulse of groveling self-interest, and an impatient desire to propitiate the favors of those, who smile but to betray; who promise but to deceive. If the magistrates think, that we were deterred from meeting by their menace, they are mistaken. We know the law, and respect it; we revere the constitution, and will defend it; we are interested in the peace of the country, and will endeavour

to preserve it; we have a stake of property and character, and will maintain them. We smile at this novel zeal in magistrates to suppress effusions of loyalty, attachment to the sister-kingdom, and gratitude to the legislature; a zeal, however, that will retard the oblivion, which probably would have kindly enveloped their descent from official station.

I conceive that we are not only called on to thank those illustrious Patriots, who defended the constitution, but to cheer them in their progress, and to aid them in their struggles. They should not only be convinced of our perfect coincidence of opinion, but that we make common cause with them; and if the constitution is to be annihilated, we must be annihilated with it.

But, thank Heaven! the powers of Parliament are for preservation, not for destruction. I laugh at the bigoted idea of its *omnipotence*; in doing so, I maintain a doctrine, which instead of placing eternal daggers in the hands of assassins to plunge into the vitals of the constitution, in my opinion,

nion, supplies every honest man with a shield to guard that constitution against the open or secret attacks of treachery, fraud, or usurpation. Fortunately the 111 Patriots have wielded that shield to advantage. To the friends of the constitution, I would recommend---“ to speak daggers, but to use none.” If the omnipotence of Parliament is to be received in all the latitude of a bigot’s creed; if a magic force dwells in its enactments; if its will can legalize usurpation, and its words pervert the essence of right, the dispute is at an end; reason may expostulate, but she must acquiesce; happy, however, the truth is otherwise. There are constitutional as well as natural impossibilities; there are some things which without the subversion of the frame cannot take place in the physical or political world. The legislature cannot transfer the power of making laws to any other hands, for it being but a delegated power from the people, they cannot pass it over to others; these are the words of the immortal Locke, the most profound inquirer and reasoner on government---the strongest and wisest advocate for the British constitution. This is a

sacred principle, which neither ambition, nor injustice can erase. Individual members of Parliament may, indeed, abdicate their representation; but the right remains with the people, and can only be surrendered by them. They may ratify their own infamy, but cannot ratify the slavery of us, much less of posterity. There are duties to be performed by the legislature; trusts to be fulfilled; principles to be adhered to; and limits that cannot be transcended, which render the idea of the omnipotence of Parliament ridiculous and futile. It is impious to ascribe omnipotence to any human institution; but if it belongs to men, it must be ascribed to the people, from whom all political power originates; for whose sakes government is instituted, and theirs then must be the only omnipotence. As to parliament, it has its own gravitation; it cannot fly from its proper sphere; the constitution is the center round which it revolves, and to the same orbit it must eternally be confined. If any statute wounds the constitution, the constitution cancels its force; this was exemplified in the determination of the great Lord Hobart, in the case

case of the city of London claiming under a statute. If the constitution had not this internal balm to heal its own wounds, it would soon decay. This doctrine is not visionary; it is the key-stone that supports the arch of freedom; if that key-stone be removed, the arch would soon sink into a vault, in which Liberty and Parliament would lie entombed together.

But waving the abstract question of right, let us consider what the minister so lately called on Parliament to do---To break thro' the solemn compact of 82, wherein it was declared and maintained that no power on earth had a right to bind Ireland, save the King, Lords and Commons of this realm; a principle solemnly acceded to, and recognised by the British legislature, and which our Parliament and People pledged life and fortune to support. Never can I reflect on that period without pious gratitude and enthusiastic zeal. It was then association fixed her standard in the land; beneath her banners liberty repos'd; and above the day-star of freedom began to dawn; it soon became vertical, and pointed to the peoples' rights;

rights; England sealed these rights, and the day-star can never fade. As well may the Minister attempt to revoke Magna Charta; to repeal the Bill of Rights, or to remove the intervening ocean, as to destroy that settlement, while there remains an atom of public spirit, of honor, or of virtue in this country.

But let us mark the confidence in assertion of the minister; in the British parliament, he said in a late speech, that the settlement of 82 was not final, and recited a resolution at that period, which he infisted bore him out. If I recollect right, and I am persuaded, I am not mistaken, that resolution merely was directed towards a commercial adjustment between the two countries, and not with the least reference to the constitutional question, which was then finally settled. This I will prove from Mr. Pitt's own words---on the 24th of July, 1785, on presenting to the British parliament the *altered* propositions, he moved an address to the King, in which is as fully acknowledged and recognised the irrevocable constitutional adjustment of 82, as words can

can express ; having by accident that address, I shall quote the words. In the sixth paragraph, alluding to the points that were to be settled, it is said : “ They can only “ be carried into effect by laws to be passed “ in the Parliament of Ireland, which is “ alone competent to bind your Majesty’s “ subjects in that kingdom, and *whose legislative rights we shall ever hold as sacred as our own.*” Thus this Atlas of the state is detected in unfounded assertion, and convicted of misrepresentation by his own testimony.---Presumptuous Minister! infatuated Englishmen! can you not perceive that whatever cloud overshadows Ireland, as it increases must extend ; in as deep a darkness would Britain be soon wrapped, for the horizons of both countries are the same. Their constitutions grow out of the same pyramid ; their base is laid in the peoples’ consent ; by their consent laws become available and not otherwise ; this is the paramount privilege of Liberty : should it be questioned, Sidney would bleed again ; the shade of Russel rise restless from the grave, and the spirit of Hampden burst the barriers of the tomb !

If

If Ireland were base enough to submit to the intended Union, I should hope England would reject it, as she would plainly perceive, that such an innovation would endanger her own constitution. Englishmen must feel, that whatever wounded us, would ultimately wound them; as they must discover in our constitution the features of their own; the likeness would unnerve the uplifted arm, and repel the meditated blow; the unnatural assassination would be saved; its horrors would prevent the deed.

The minister in the fullness of his kindness, proposes by this clandestine marriage, which the laws of God and man forbid,--- to tranquilize the country. For that purpose, he seizes the present as the propitious moment, when the nation is agitated by resentments, prejudices, and fears. Looking back at the recent transactions in this kingdom, memorable for the violations of humanity, justice, law, and constitution, the good people of this country are appalled; feeling horror at the recollection of the past, and dismay at the probable incertitude of the

the future ; bowed down with accumulated and accumulating misfortunes, the minister supposes that to subject them to the yoke, (or as he, in more courtly language expresses it) to *tranquilize* them, would be an easy task. But he will find, though under the pressure of national calamities, that the energy of the people is not totally relaxed. ---That the love of liberty is an inherent passion in the breasts of Irishmen, which neither art, nor fraud, nor force, nor misfortunes can totally eradicate---that public virtue in this country, is not a phantom, or patriotism an illusive name. This tranquilizing measure of an Union, would produce disunion; it would aggravate popular discontent, encrease the fermentation of the public mind; excite new jealousies; and may fan afresh the sleeping embers of rebellion. I conjure the minister to consider, that on the same string hang the rights of Ireland as those of England; touched rudely, that string would strike a discord; touched skilfully, it will vibrate unisons for ever.

In pursuing this frantic measure, reason bewildered almost recoils, and tired inve-

tigation nearly drops the clue. What are its farther objects?---To degrade the nobility and annihilate our Parliament; to reduce this country from the rank of an Independent nation to a province; to make us participate in the enormous debt of Great-Britain, consequently in all her taxes, internal as well as external; to add considerably to our absentees, and with them to take from this country an annual income nearly of a Million, heretofore expended at home; and to withdraw from it their influence in preserving peace and good order---their encouragement to labour and industry---their example and their exertions in improving and beautifying the country by agriculture, buildings, and plantations. The minister's Irish Union logic goes to establish this solecism: that a part, and not a fifth-part, would be equal to the whole; that in proportion as the seat of legislature should be removed from the country to be governed by its laws; in proportion as the representatives of the People should be removed from the inspection and controul of their constituents, the better would that country be governed, and the more faithfully executed would be the trust.

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In order to tranquilize the Catholic, and to win the consent of the Protestant to this measure, the inducements, the minister holds out, are truly fascinating and just. He proclaims, that there will be an eternal barrier against the removal of the disqualifications, to which the Catholics are at present subjected; this to the Ascendency Man is doubtless matter of great consolation, even for the loss of Freedom; at the certainty of the exclusive enjoyment of the loaves and fishes, his palled appetite resumes its tone; he devours in expectation the future harvests of his honest labor. The Catholic is addressed on this occasion with equal liberality and justice; he is called on to aid in annihilating the rights of the Protestants, who at present exclude him from certain great trusts and offices of state: thus sweet revenge will be gratified; thus degradation will produce one common level; thus discord may be converted into amity; those that were hostile while in prosperity, may be friendly in adversity: the Protestant and Catholic becoming mutual slaves may hug their chains together.

As the minister has not given to the public the detail of the commercial advantages intended for this country, my observations on that subject must be limited. We know, however, that he has nothing to give but the Channel trade ; this ought long since have been conceded on the point of justice, as well as honor; three different ministers in this country having promised it, and the nation having paid in advance for it £140,000 in new taxes. The terms on which this Channel trade should be granted, must decide its good or bad consequences. Equality of duties, in many cases, would not be equality of trade; but in most, would be subversion and destruction to our infant manufactures, and to our various capitals employed in internal trade : the superior capitals, skill, affortments, and supply of England justify this deduction. But an analogy is universally attempted to be drawn between Scotland and Ireland on this subject. Waving the consideration of continental connection, soil, climate, harbours, and growing improvements of the world, &c. it is to the acquirement of a tolerable free constitution, that the progressive prosperity of

of Scotland is chiefly to be attributed. Before the Union, she had no constitution. The feudal system prevailed; her kings were despotic; her nobles were slaves and tyrants; and the people groaned under the rigorous domination of both. It was to the adoption of that constitution, more liberal than her own, that Scotland is indebted for her extension in commerce, her establishment of manufactures, refinement in manners, and cultivation of letters and science. We are possessed of that constitution; we won it by our spirit, and I trust, we will preserve it by our virtue. Ireland and England are already combined by one common tie; to one sovereign their allegiance is due; their friends and their foes are reciprocally the same. They have one king---one charter, and one constitution. If the madness of ministers does not drive the people to desperation, the connection will be inviolable---the friendship unalterable, and the interest inseparable: that has long been my ardent wish.

It is said by the advocates of this measure, that English capitals would flow into this country;

country; I ask what has prevented them from coming hither for these 17 years past, when there was an ample field for speculation, and our own capitals have been multiplying in an extraordinary ratio, and when perfect security of property prevailed, nor any disturbance of magnitude, until the French fleet appeared in Bantry Bay. This is one of the delusive phantoms, which the minister presents to our grasp, while he makes his efforts to wrest from us the solid, and incalculable advantage of constitutional Independence. At no period have wealthy Englishmen been induced to migrate from their country through motives of local advantage; their spirit of commerce, and skill in navigation, have always excited them to explore the most distant seas and regions, in pursuit of traffic and of riches; but, it is the great object of an Englishman to center his wealth in his own country; there to sit down and enjoy the fruits of his labor and industry. He is like the eagle, who never loses sight of the nest, where she fosters her young. Under the unfortunate reign of the Stuarts, the violence of party and political disputes raised a fervor of emigration;

gration; the love of liberty and the abhorrence of despotism, forced Englishmen from their country at that period, to seek freedom and security beyond the Atlantic. It is possible that the same causes will produce the same effects, and an additional motive will be the pressure of taxation; but it would not be to provincial Ireland, that men, who once felt English liberty, would direct their attention. No, when once we surrendered our constitution, we should fall beneath contempt; we should be wiped out of the map of nations; we should be forgotten; but if ever recollection should point to Ireland, it would be only to record her infamy.

Let us however not despair. This country is not lost. If Ireland be part of the empire, and if the constitution may be subverted as to that part, it may be subverted as to the whole. This intended Union would lead to that subversion; therefore the Parliament and People of England ought to be as reluctant as our own. Should imprudence give the word, justice would recall the dangerous ^{found}; the voice of reason would arrest

arrest its flight; the law of nations would interpose, and its language would not be despised; but we should cherish that spirit in ourselves, which heretofore has been the instrument of our deliverance. We should be vigilant, and not slumber on our posts; what can't be carried by force, may be attempted by sap. Let us convince the world, that patriotism is not an empty name, but an invigorating principle, which warms and animates, gives firm and manly fortitude, and supplies strength and vigor, that will neither yield to force, nor sink under corruption. Let us shew, that Parliament and the People are united. Forgetting all party dissensions; suppressing those religious feuds, that are excited only to render us an easy conquest; banishing from our view the mean and illusive prospect of local advantage, let us, my fellow-citizens, with one voice declare, that we regard our sister-kingdom, and will never sever from her---that we love our King, and will rally round him---that we adore Freedom, and will relinquish it but with our lives. !!

Lakelands,
Feb. 9, 1799. }

Benj. Bousfield.

P. S.—Since sending this Letter to press, I have seen Mr. Pitt's speech on the 31st of January, introductory of the preliminaries, which were to be the basis of the intended Union. A speech of the most splendid imposition ; a display of the most beautiful arrangement of language, artfully designed to delude, to dupe, and to menace. A few of the material points I shall state, stripped of their resplendent ornaments, and observe shortly on them.

Mr. Pitt says, that “ the connection between the two countries has been attacked by foreign enemies and domestic traitors.” It is true ; but what has exposed Ireland to these calamities ? It is the war in which that minister has involved the empire, which he is now waging against arithmetic, and without any definite object ; it is his own mal-administration of this country, particularly in the instance of the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam, when a fair prospect opened of conciliating the affections of the people, and thereby consolidating the interest of the empire.

D

Mr. Pitt

Mr. Pitt supposes a possible case, and gives it as one of his reasons for an Union, that the two countries retaining their mutual independence, (but totally omitting the connection by the same executive, whose sole prerogative is the power of declaring war and peace) may differ on the subject. No difference has as yet arisen ; Ireland, though never an aggressor, has followed England with spirit and with zeal on all such occasions ; and arguing from the American and the present wars, the two most destructive that ever happened, Great-Britain cannot really have any cause for such apprehension.

Mr. Pitt states the Regency Business as a solitary case of difference (if it may be called so) between Great-Britain and Ireland on an imperial question. There was no difference as to the individual, but it was merely as to the manner in which the Regent should hold his power. In England, Mr. Pitt took care he should be so manacled, as not to be able to move without his permission. In Ireland, he would have been a free-agent, and invested for the time being, with all those powers with which, whenever he should come to the inheritance of the Throne, he would have been possessed. Which nation acted with more wisdom and liberality, let public opinion decide.

When we hear of friends vauntingly enumerating the favors and obligations conferred on others, we are apt to suspect the sincerity, the generous feeling, and

and liberality of such boasters; the favors become diminished in proportion as they are trumpeted out by the donors. I should grieve to hear, that an account of mutual services and assistance, were to be opened or attempted to be balanced between two sister-kingdoms; because I am of opinion, that nothing could more powerfully tend to wound the feelings of both, and to occasion a dissolution of that friendship, which, I trust, in spite of the minister, will be inviolable. But as he has reminded us of the money and troops lent to us on the present contest, let me call to recollection the assistance we have always rendered to Great-Britain, to man their navy, and to recruit their armies. In the American war, when the combined fleets rode triumphant in the channel, we gave them all our troops, and defended ourselves. In the present war we have given to England 200,000 of our people; our establishment for which we pay, is 16000 troops of the line, of which, during the first three years of the war, we had not 4000, and even now, have not more than 8000.

But as to the defence of this country so much dwelt on, would not Great-Britain, from motives of policy, feel it her duty to defend the most insignificant parts of the empire? the Isles of Man, Jersey or Guernsey, are objects of her care, and the loss of either of them would be felt; but if Ireland, the great limb of the State, were to be lopped off, the trunk

would soon bleed to death. Who that witnessed the defenceless state of this country, when the French Fleet appeared in Bantry-Bay, that does not feel dismay and indignation? Where then was British protection?—Where then was the force stipulated and paid for?—We have it is true at present, a strong army for protection; I hope, it will never be directed to any other purposes. Should this measure of an Union be ever carried, one of its great objects would be to make this country a vast depot of troops, who, doubtless would tend to civilize the manners of the people; particularly, should there be any German regiments among them. But while we speak of protection, we should not forget how much is due to the vigilance, spirit, and gallantry of the fleet stationed on this coast.—Every man, but particularly the commercial interest, must gratefully acknowledge their services, and rejoice at their good fortune.

As to Mr. Pitt's professions and sincerity towards the Catholics; in the 4th article of the preliminaries, it is stated, that “all members of either House of the united Parliament shall take the same oaths, and make the same declarations, *as are by Law required to be taken, subscribed, and made by the members of the parliaments of Gt. Britain & Ireland.*” This is the ETERNAL Bar against the removal of Catholic disqualifications; and yet the minister, the firm and inexorable opponent of the repeal of the

Test

Test-Laws in England, tells them, that hereafter, in the united Parliament they might find a mitigation of some of the most GOADING and oppressive of their present causes of complaint ; but how soon or *how late*, it may be proper to discuss the nature and propriety of those concessions, must depend upon two circumstances :—first, when the conduct of the Catholics shall be such, as to make it safe for the government to admit them to the participation of the privileges granted to those of the established religion, and when the temper of the times shall be favorable to such a measure !! *A fundamental article against that participation* and the supposition of the minister, how soon or how *LATE*, &c. is the amulet which he would throw round the Catholics' necks, to win them to the Union !—this is a political juggle, which must have a salutary effect in tranquilizing the country.

Mr. Pitt maintains that Ireland is indebted not to that INDEPENDENT Legislature, on which her prosperity is said to depend; but to the British parliament for her commercial freedom. Waving those natural rights, and that advantageous situation for commerce with the world, which Providence has so liberally bestowed on this country, and considering only the pressures which for a series of 500 years, had been imposed on her by the domineering and monopolizing policy of Gt. Brit. his position is certainly well founded. For the history
of

of these degradatory commercial restraints, I would recommend a publication of deep research and accurate statement, by the late Right Honorable J. H. Hutchinson. It was even within my recollection, considered by a British minister, as a great *boon from that Parliament to permit us to raise Tobacco in this kingdom!!* But, perhaps, Mr. Pitt alludes to the direct trade to the British colonies, which may be more properly called a purchase by us, than a gift from them; for that trade, we established a perfect monopoly in our markets, with regard to the produce of the British colonies:—we shut ourselves out completely of all colonial goods from the rest of the world. As to our Linens, passing free into the English market, of which we are now menaced to be deprived of, I must remark, that on the suppression of the Woollen manufacture, in which we had made sufficient progress to alarm the jealousy of England, it was solemnly compacted at that period, the reign of William the 3^d, that our Linens should be ever received, duty free, into England; and as to the bounty given on the re-exportation from thence, it operates to give her all the advantage of the carrying Trade.

Mr. Pitt in calculating the amount of the manufactures, which Great-Britain in her LIBERALITY takes from this kingdom, artfully includes provisions, and thus swells up the account. If, she were not to take them from us, what would feed her navy, garrisons,

garrisons, colonies and settlements? From whence would even her own market be supplied with Butter? The same question may be asked as to our Linens, the only article of Irish manufacture admitted into British ports, without a duty almost amounting to prohibition. From what part of Europe could she get at present her supply, particularly of the finer sorts of Linen? But away with recrimination, it cannot tend to good, but may to bad purposes; Mr. Pitt has provoked it, and is therefore answerable for the consequences.

At the relief of this country from Tythes, Mr. Pitt glances in his speech, tho' not in the preliminary resolutions; and holds it out as a lure to induce the adoption of his favorite measure. I ask is not our Parliament competent, and best suited from its local knowledge, to effect that desirable object; and if the minister really means to conciliate and tranquilize, ought he not be anxious to give them all the merit of so salutary a measure? It is to be hoped, that they will soon take it into consideration, and enact a commutation of Tythes on equitable principles, equally satisfactory to the Clergy as to the Laity. On the whole, I conceive that Mr. Pitt's present conduct towards this country, is an aggregate of ruinous mischief, tending to hazard the sacred connection between the sister-kingdoms; and by splendid imposition to play on the imbecility of this

this nation, so far as an endeavour to persuade us, that when we should be quitting the path of Freedom for ever, that we were advancing into some nobler road of public Felicity.

FINIS.





OBSERVATIONS

ON

MR. BOUSFIELD'S

LETTER, &c.

CORK:

PRINTED AT THE CORK ADVERTISER OFFICE,
PATRICK'S-STREET.

1799.

OBSERVATIONS, &c.

THE controversy occasioned by the question of Union possesses this very remarkable singularity, that heat, rancour, and animosity, have taken their stand upon one side, while the other has endeavoured to maintain its ground by cool reason, and deliberate argument. This partiality of intemperance, may in a great measure be accounted for, on principles not very laudable, perhaps, but I am afraid very natural. The opposition of the Bar, it was foretold, would, for certain cogent reasons, be strenuous, if not violent; and that learned body has not been disinterested enough to falsify the prediction. But it must at the same time be allowed, that if the majority of their members have been intemperate in their resistance, we owe to the minority, the best compositions that have hitherto appeared in favour of the measure. The Inhabitants of Dublin, it was obvious, would warmly oppose a mea-

sure, which, whatever might be its general tendency, appeared inimical to the immediate interests of the Metropolis. Whoever considers the common motives of human action, however he may lament, will not certainly be surprised at this conduct. It accords sufficiently with the learned Mr. Square's accommodating philosophy, which reconciles every thing that is agreeable, to the *Rule of Right, and Fitness of Things*. But the imputation of acrimony in the present case, does not rest entirely with the interested. Persons, in whom we can discern no such incentive, have emulated the Bar, if not in eloquence, at least in intemperance. Bad examples are frequently the most infectious. The faults of those we admire are more easily imitated than their virtues, and to abuse is much less difficult than to argue. This appears strongly exemplified in Mr. Bousfield's letter to the Citizens of Cork, which, if he had contented himself with declaiming against the supposed ill-consequences of an Union, would have passed by me, perhaps without observation, certainly without censure.

When a Gentleman delivers his sentiments decorously, I always feel disposed to applaud his conduct, however I may dislike his opinion, as a fair, though perhaps a feeble endeavour to communicate useful information. But when a pompous and flimsy repetition of (shall I call them) *arguments*,

arguments, already repeatedly urged, and already repeatedly refuted, is obtruded on the public, for the purpose of casting obloquy on the proceedings of a most respectable body, regularly convened, and properly conducted, whose only offence is their differing from the Author on the propriety of a public measure, I conceive the work to be a fair subject for animadversion.

After premising that his purpose is to arraign the British Minister who proposed, and to thank the virtuous majority who rejected the Union, Mr. B. observes, that “ it is *necessary* to call to “ recollection, a meeting of Freemen lately held “ at the City Court-house.”—Necessary for what? not certainly for the arrangement of his attack, or the expression of his gratitude. He might surely have accomplished both his objects without animadverting on the conduct of that meeting. Mr. B. attended the discussion, and experienced, he tells us, his usual fate of being left in a minority. If he was on that day unprepared for the debate, and incapable of arguing the question, let him, if he pleases, commit his arguments to paper, but let him do it without offence. The man that wishes to persuade, should be careful not to irritate. This is carrying his aversion to Union a little too far. For my own part, so far from considering the conduct of that day as censurable, I conceive it to contain the fairest expres-

tion of public opinion that has yet been delivered. I give them credit for being the most unbiased assemblage in which the question has been hitherto discussed. I believe they acted from the purest motives, and I am satisfied their resolutions were grounded on the soundest principles. I do, therefore, most cordially approve their proceedings, although the meeting might not have been attended by the Freemen at Large, although some of the gentlemen present were Officers of the Revenue, and although Mr. BOUSFIELD the *Squire*, and Mr. BEAMISH the *Brewer*, were left in a minority.

But Mr. BOUSFIELD deemed it necessary to rescue the city of Cork from imputation and disgrace, and most happily, in truth, has he accomplished his undertaking. The task indeed does not appear extremely difficult, when we come to consider the nature of the ignominy.—For, what is the imputation, and what the disgrace? The imputation of daring to discuss a public question, which a Corporation of Dublin Chandlers undertook to decide; and the disgrace of coinciding in opinion with several of the greatest men in both kingdoms. No disgrace, however, would have attached, had they agreed with Mr. BOUSFIELD and the *Chandlers*. In that case all would have gone right. Their public spirit would have been unquestioned, their wisdom fully acknowledged, and

and the meeting, in spite of “*Contractors*” and “*Revenue Officers*,” would have been regular and unexceptionable. If to agree with Mr. BOUSFIELD’s political opinions be their only means of escaping censure, I am afraid they must lay their account with bearing the burthen of their disgrace, which however, if it falls no heavier than on the former occasions of their disagreement, will not be very hard to be sustained.

This, however, is not their only misfortune. *Individuals* in our parliament, it seems, (making, I suppose, the aforesaid Corporation of Chandlers their model of good faith and elegant composition) have thought proper to bestow upon this City, the epithets of Bæotian perfidy, and Bæotian stupidity. Mr. BOUSFIELD’s assertion may, perhaps, be well-founded, though it has escaped my observation. The debate on so important a question was not conducted with the most perfect liberality. What the *former* term imports, Mr. BOUSFIELD, as a scholar, may perhaps be able to inform us: the meaning of the *latter* we can sufficiently collect from his writings.

The brilliancy of Mr. BOUSFIELD’s fancy is almost equal to the vigour of his judgment.— “One would imagine,” says this lively and facetious Gentleman, “by the impatient anxiety of “that meeting, that it was rather composed of a “number

“ number of impassioned lovers panting for the
 “ *sisterly* embrace, than an assemblage of grave
 “ Citizens, met for the purpose of deliberating a
 “ question of the greatest importance.” This is no
 doubt a very happy illustration, and contains a
 figure of Rhetoric, which if not extremely appo-
 site, is at least perfectly novel. I am indeed dis-
 posed to allow, that symptoms of impatience
 were occasionally perceptible, though they did
 not exactly resemble the eager emotions of an
 “ *impassioned lover.*” This impatience we can-
 not be at a loss to account for, when Mr. BOU-
 SFIELD informs us, with what persevering, though
 inefficacious argument, he opposed the question.
 I leave it to any person who has been in the ha-
 bit of listening to *dull harangues*, whether it is not
 a trial of patience sometimes too hard to be borne.
 Mr. BOU SFIELD’s *chastity* is not in his imagina-
 tion. The idea of *Lovers* panting to embrace their
Sisters, exhibits a picture of very reprehensible
 connection indeed. Notwithstanding this, I free-
 ly acquit Mr. BOU SFIELD of any intentional
 criminality. I believe him to be as *innocent* a
Lover as may almost any where be found. I
 consider the passage to be nothing more than an
 improvement upon a blunder I once heard made
 by another famous maker of speeches, who speak-
 ing in the House of Commons on the subject of
 British connexion, represented *Brother Ireland* as
 holding out his arms to embrace *HER Sister Eng-
 land.* I have

I have no objection to Mr. BousFIELD and his friends thanking the illustrious Patriot's who rejected the Union. It has been so seldom his good fortune to join with a Majority, that I willingly allow him to make the most of it. But it is the liberality of the Conqueror that crowns the victory. He might have enjoyed his triumph without recoiling and insulting the vanquished. The cause of Anti-union has been more indebted for success to what he calls the doctrine of Numbers, than to the doctrine of argument. I do not deny that it has been opposed by men of integrity, and men of talents, but I assert that it has been supported by men of equal integrity, and more than equal talents. What then has the Corporation of our City to fear from the aspersions of individuals, in, or out of Parliament? The object of such charges is protected by their futurity, the malignancy recoils upon the imputer.

I have too much consideration for my readers to follow this Gentleman through his rhetorical labyrinth, or to tire them with undertaking to answer objections, which have been so often answered already. I shall content myself with adducing a few examples of that emptiness and inconsistency, which his admirers have thought proper to dignify with the names of *eloquence* and *argument*.

Mr. Bousfield, like many others on the same side of the question, unwilling to trouble their readers, or themselves with the fatigue of reasoning, passes over the intermediate steps of the demonstration, and conducts us at once to the wished for conclusion. What a common reasoner would think it necessary to prove, he assumes for an acknowledged truth, and then exults in his victorious logic. Take the following instance:—

“ This tranquillizing measure of an Union would
 “ promote disunion; it would aggravate popular
 “ discontent, encrease the fermentation of the
 “ public mind; excite new jealousies; and *may*
 “ fan afresh the *sleeping* embers of rebellion—
 “ In pursuing this frantic measure, reason be-
 “ wildered, almost recoils, and tired investiga-
 “ tion nearly drops the clue. What are its far-
 “ ther objects? To degrade the Nobility, and anni-
 “ hilate our Parliament; to reduce this Country
 “ from the rank of an independant Nation to a
 “ province, to make us participate in the enor-
 “ mous debt of Great Britain, consequently, in
 “ all her taxes, internal as well as external. To
 “ add considerably to our Absentees, and, with
 “ them, to take from this Country an annual in-
 “ come nearly of a million, heretofore expended
 “ at home.” Of this very splendid and elegant
 passage, it is merely necessary to observe that
 some of the positions are manifestly *false*, and
 that none of them are *proved*. I would suggest

for

for the next edition, an amendment to one of the sentences at present not very intelligible. " In " pursuing this opposition we are become *so frantic*, that our reason is entangled in a wilder- " ness of investigation, where it has lost its clue." Could I be persuaded that a Union would be productive of such evil consequences, I would oppose it, with a spirit less frantic perhaps, but certainly as determined as that of Mr. BOUSFIELD himself. I have hitherto been a friend to the measure, because I conceived it materially conducive to the strength and stability of the whole Empire, and peculiarly calculated to promote the Peace, Prosperity, and let me add, the REAL DIGNITY of this Kingdom. When Mr. BOUSFIELD condescends to bring forward the reasons that support his opinion, I will either acquiesce in their justness, or expose their inanity. Till then the strength of my assertion may venture to stand against his unequal balance of authority.

Mr. BOUSFIELD gravely thanks Heaven, that " the powers of Parliament are for preservation, " not destruction." He must be a little "*frantic*" in his ideas indeed, who could for a moment conceive that legislative power was ordained for destruction. Giving up this point, we may however be allowed to differ a little in opinion on the most eligible method of effecting preser-

vation. In this it appears, that the wisest statesmen are not agreed, and I don't think that Mr. BOUSFIELD's Letter will promote their Union.

Mr. BOUSFIELD, following the example of some others, maintains the incompetence of Parliament to effect an Union, and in the liberality of his mind laughs at the bigotted idea of parliamentary *Omnipotence*. I am willing to agree with him that the term is improperly applied to any human power, but I do not therefore coincide with his inference. Here too I am supported by the authority of great names, who have also saved me the trouble of arguing the point. The authority I mean to produce, has this farther weight, that it proceeds from a person perfectly disinterested in the present question, for he has been long dead. Let us hear *Justice BLACKSTONE versus Squire Bousfield*.

"The power and jurisdiction of Parliament (says Sir EDWARD COKE) is so transcendent and absolute, that it cannot be confined either for causes or persons within any bounds—It hath sovereign and uncontrollable authority in the making, confirming, enlarging, restraining, abrogating, repealing, revising and expounding of laws—It can regulate anew, the succession to the Crown—It can alter the established Religion of the land—It can change and create

the

“ afresh even the *Constitution of the Kingdom*, and
 “ of *Parliaments themselves*, as was done by the act
 “ of *Union*; and the several statutes for triennial
 “ and septennial elections. It can in short do
 “ ANY THING that is not naturally impossible,
 “ and therefore some have not scrupled to call it
 “ by a figure rather too bold—*The Omnipotence of*
 “ *Parliament.*”—*Blackstone, book 1, chap. 2.*

Of his quotation from Mr. *Locke*, I shall only say, that however just in the abstract, it does not apply to the question of *Union*, the object of which is not, to *resign* the power, but to *alter* the mode of legislating.

Speaking of the solemn compact of 1782, Mr. **BOUSFIELD** breaks out into rapturous admiration, of the patriotic exertions that produced it. I too call to my mind the transactions of that celebrated period. I recollect that the Parliament, whose firmness and wisdom rescued this country from more than English dependance, was, notwithstanding, unfortunate enough to be *obnoxious* to its present Panegyrist. I remember, that so far from being respected by some of the Patriots of that day, it was the object of their most sovereign contempt. I recollect Mr. **BOUSFIELD** and other *great men* setting up a rival House of Commons in its despite and defiance. I remem-

ber one of this Convention's thundering orators, reprobating its presumption, for assuming to legislate, while *they*, the true representatives of the people, were sitting in council. Mr. BOUSFIELD's day-star of liberty then indeed became vertical, and pointed to the *Lying-in-Hospital*. But its illumination, however splendid, was of short duration. The *Labour* of the Hospital ended in *abortion*, and Mr. BOUSFIELD and his associate legislators, retired to lament the inefficacy of their efforts, and to enjoy the "CONSCIOUSNESS OF HAVING DONE THEIR DUTY."

Not content with confuting Mr. PITT's first speech on the subject of Union, Mr. BOUSFIELD favours us with a postscript oversetting the arguments of his second. It is by no means my intention to defend the prime Minister of England from the fury of his assailant. He bears a seven-fold shield of defence in his own genius and eloquence, which requires not the aid of so feeble an assistant. Nor would I rob Mr. BOUSFIELD of any of that gratification he may feel from the fancied overthrow of so gigantic an adversary. The delusions of self-love form no inconsiderable part of human happiness. The renowned Knight of *La Mancha* enjoyed the glory of real conquest, in the achievement of imaginary exploits; and surely it will be allowed, that when BENJA-

MIN BOUSFIELD enters the lists against WILLIAM PITT, the undertaking favours not a little of *Quixotism*.

But his most profound argument is reserved for the conclusion of the Letter—" If, says he, Ire-
 " land be part of the Empire, and if the Consti-
 " tution may be subverted as to that part, it
 " may be subverted as to the whole. This in-
 " tended Union would lead to that subversion;
 " therefore the Parliament and People of Eng-
 " land ought to be as reluctant as our own.
 " Should imprudence give the word, justice
 " would recal the dangerous sound; the *voice*
 " of *reason* would arrest its flight, the laws of
 " Nations would interpose, and its language
 " would not be despised."

If this be the voice of reason, it is certainly a voice to which I have been hitherto a stranger. By what new species of logic can the legislative Union of two contiguous kingdoms, for promoting the interests and consolidating the strength of both, be called the *subversion* of either? Had the experiment never been made, the apprehensions of the speculist might carry some weight, but the People, and Parliament of England, found their approbation of the measure upon the unanswerable argument of *fact*. Of this Mr. BOUS-

FIELD is aware, and endeavours to evade the inference, by saying that the Union of Scotland does not supply a parallel case. As far as relates to the abstract principle of Union, the cases are perfectly analogous. The particular situations of the kingdoms are certainly different: but as far as I am capable of judging, that difference instead of forbidding the present Union, tends in the strongest degree to recommend it. I do not however hesitate to acknowledge that, much as I approve the measure, I would by no means press it against so strong an expression of dislike as our Parliament has shewn, whatever their determination be; I hold it my duty to acquiesce. I shall never set up *my* private opinion against the Legislature of my Country. *Requiescat in pace.*

Upon the whole, it appears to me that Mr. BousFIELD would have acted more wisely in abiding by his late prudent determination, to abstain from political discussions. Had his talents possessed that efficacy, the want of which he so pathetically laments, the publication was too late to serve his *illustrious* friends. Perhaps it is fortunate for the cause he has espoused, that he did not appear earlier in the field. There is, as he observes, a sort of fatality attending all his efforts that might have blasted the now blooming flower of Irish Independence. The feeblest efforts of the humblest individual, as he modestly expresses it,

it, could do but little *before* the question was decided, they could do nothing *after* it. He reminds us of the drill Serjeant, who having among some recruits, a fellow that had been a *parish clerk*, and was always slower in firing than the rest, damned him for an awkward booby, always coming in with his *Amen Shot*.

As I am now near taking leave, let me express a hope that we shall part friends. I disapprove his conduct, and I differ from his opinion. I believe him, however, to be a gentleman who means well, though he has hitherto been unable to apply that meaning to any useful purpose. Mr. BOUSFIELD would be a *respectable* man, if he did not think himself a *wise* one. Talents like his, are just sufficient to be convenient instruments in the hands of a party. Taken by ostensible professions, and wanting penetration to perceive the drift of those by whom he is often inflamed, and always led, he fancies himself to be a *Director*, while they laugh at him for being a *Dupe*. I give full credit to his professions of loyalty to the King, and attachment to the sister Kingdom, but I can assure him that these are not the sentiments of *all* his Associates.

Rapidly as his age appears to "accelerate," he may live long enough to discover and repent his delu-

delusion; to find that he has sacrificed sense to sound, and given up a real source of substantial blessings, for imaginary honour and empty title. I condemn not however those who entertain a different opinion. I should have less confidence in my own, if the supporters of it were more clamorous, and my warmest hope is that I may be mistaken.

A FREEMAN.

CORK, FEB. 16, 1799.

DEAN TUCKER's

ARGUMENTS

ON THE

PROPRIETY OF AN UNION

BETWEEN

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND;

WRITTEN SOME YEARS SINCE,

AND

NOW FIRST PUBLISHED

IN

THIS TRACT

UPON THE SAME SUBJECT.

BY THE REV. DR. CLARKE,

SECRETARY FOR THE LIBRARY, AND CHAPLAIN TO
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE OF WALES.

[In this Work, the great Objections urged at a Meeting of the
Irish Bar, are distinctly considered and confuted.]

"TROS TYRIUSQUE MIHI NULLO DISCRIMINE HABETUR."

DUBLIN:

PRINTED FOR J. MILLIKEN, 32, GRAFTON-STREET.

1799.

— САИ ТУСКЕ

— БУЗАЛОН

— АКДО

— САУДА — ТОЧКА — БРД

— АДАМ — АДАМ — АДАМ

P R E F A C E.

THE magnitude and importance of the commercial propositions in 1785, had led men to investigate the positive and relative conditions of the sister kingdoms, in order to understand the extent of that negotiation.— This subject occasioned much private inquiry and discussion between Dean Tucker and Dr. Clarke ; and out of it arose the question of an Incorporate Union. Dr. Clarke enjoyed at that period the constant society of this able and excellent man ; and now reflects on it as an honour and happiness of his life. The common occurrences, however, of human affairs having separated them, their intercourse was afterward kept up by correspondence : and the question of an Union was still discussed, until Dr. Clarke was too far removed from the scene of British Politics, and no where stationary for the regularity of communication upon such topics. But the opinions, which had been urged by the Dean, upon a subject of such magnitude, seem too valuable

valuable for oblivion at a moment so important as the present, and which this profound Politician had long foreseen and often anticipated, in his discourse. His arguments, therefore, without their meaning being marred, or their reasoning weakened, but as they were drawn up himself, are, with permission, submitted to the Public, by Dr. Clarke. To his great and virtuous friend his debt of gratitude has been always large: his love and veneration will be endless.

U N I O N
OR
S E P A R A T I O N.

THE first civil compact took place between Britain and Ireland, at a moment when Government in the latter was the instrument of caprice, or the incentive of Rebellion. The policy however, under an *Imperial Union* formed by Henry II. was barbarously defective: it long excluded the Irish from the benefit of the English Laws. The ground was thus laid of a jealous, odious and disgraceful distinction,* which has been kept up by succeeding circumstances, and prevails down to this day. Accumulated misfortunes at this moment might be traced back to this unwise Policy under the *imperial*, and we may say, *Dependent Union*.

Another Union however arose between Great Britain and Ireland upon a vast combination of causes, and a singular concurrence of events. In 1779, freedom of commerce was established for Ireland: in 1782 her Legislative Dependency was formally renounced by the Parliament of Great Britain: and hence she dates her *Federal or Free Union*.

Men however of sound political experience beheld this measure with concern. Things were changed, but not cor-

* Englishman and Protestant have but one term in the Irish Language.

rected. The consequences were foreseen by them and foretold. But what must now follow? The Imperial or Dependent Union proved defective; the Federal or Free Union has proved defective: there is therefore no resource now left but a Real or Incorporative Union. That or Separation must ensue.

This is not the sentence of a rash judgment or an hasty moment: it is the deliberate opinion of a man, whose ability to combine causes and calculate effects, and whose honesty to speak out and foretel these effects, have rendered him Prophetic in the Political World. I may say this of him without suspicion of flattery, and with deep sorrow I may say it, for he will probably never know it. We shall never enjoy again the guidance of this great Luminary—he has closed with the hand of venerable age the book of Politics for ever.

Let us then listen to the high authority of Dean Tucker on this question of an Incorporative Union. We shall find three of the great Popular Objections, which the Patriots of Ireland are pleased to urge with a most decisive tone against this measure distinctly considered and confuted by him.

First: the Poverty of Ireland cannot bear the weight of those Taxes, which the Riches of England enable her to sustain with ease and comfort.

Secondly: in case of an Union, the greater number of English Members in such an United Parliament compared with the few Irish, would enable England, when any competition should arise between the two Countries, respecting Trade, Manufactures and Navigation, to favour England and oppres Ireland.

Thirdly: the money now spent in Ireland, by means of a Parliament held in Dublin, would in that case, be transported to England, to the great Enrichment of the one Country, and Impoverishment of the other.

Fourthly: that an Union tends ultimately to a Separation.

Fifthly:

Fifthly: that a Moral Assimilation with Britain, or an amelioration of the Manners of the People of Ireland may not be expected from the supposed Incorporation of the two Legislatures.

These are the grand Objections so loudly insisted on; which we own are very popular, and therefore in some sense formidable: but we cannot esteem them solid. However let us examine them.

“ * The first Position is, that the Poverty of Ireland cannot bear the Weight of those Taxes, which the Riches of England enable her to sustain with no great Difficulty, or rather with much Ease.

“ Now here, under the Expressions *Poverty* and *Riches*, as applied comparatively to both Countries, a Fallacy is concealed, of which probably some are not aware.

“ In all States, Kingdoms or Countries whatsoever, and more particularly in Ireland, the Poor are by far the greater Number. Therefore the Question comes to this: Are the great Majority of the People of England so heavily and oppressively taxed, as to suffer great Misery on that Account? And were the Poor, that is, the still greater Majority of the People of Ireland to be subject to the like Taxes, could they support themselves under such a Weight? To clear up this Point, let it be observed, that the Taxes laid on the People of England, may be summed up under the following Heads.

“ 1. The Land-Tax, including likewise House-Tax, and those on Windows.

“ 2. The Custom-House Duties on the Importation of foreign Produce, foreign Manufactures, and foreign Luxuries.

“ 3. The Excise on Articles of home consumption, under which Head, Salt may likewise be included.

“ 4. The

* Note: All passages with inverted commas contain the arguments of Dean Tucker, drawn up in 1785, in answer to the objections then submitted to him by Dr. Clarke.

“ 4. The new Duties on Coaches, Carriages, Horses,
“ Servants, Hats,” Dogs, Armorial-bearing, Powder, &c.

“ 5. The Stamp Duties, which of late have been so ex-
“ tended, as to comprehend a vast Variety of Articles.

“ 6. The Tax for defraying the Postage of Letters.

“ 7. The Poor-Tax in its different Branches.

“ Now, let any one seriously consider, which of these,
“ and whether any of them do really fall on the labouring
“ Poor of England, to any considerable Degree, unless it be
“ their own Fault? And whether the great Majority of the
“ English Nation has any just Cause to complain on that
“ Account?

“ 1st. As to the Land-Tax, and that on Houses and
“ Windows, not only the menial Servants of both Sexes,
“ but also the Journey-men and Journey-women throughout
“ the Kingdom, the low Mechanics, the Fishermen and Sailors,
“ the Day-Labourers and Cottagers, are almost universally
“ excused. I do not enter into the Reasons, which induce
“ the Assessors both in Town and Country, to omit them,
“ and thereby to excuse this numerous Class from paying
“ Taxes: but I do assert this to be the Fact: for hardly any
“ of them are ever rated: and therefore they do not pay.
“ In some Instances the Laws themselves excuse them: and
“ in others a Connivance almost universally prevails.

“ 2. As to the Duties on the Importation of foreign
“ Goods, Manufactures, or Luxuries—I hope I may insist
“ upon it without Offence, that the lower Class of People in
“ England may enjoy very comfortable good Food, decent
“ Raiment, and warm Dwellings (the three great Neces-
“ saries of Life) without paying a single Tax for the Impor-
“ tation of any thing from abroad. Therefore if any of them
“ choose to indulge themselves in such Elegancies, or Luxu-
“ ries, as are brought from foreign Countries, they ought
“ to pay for their Prodigality: and have none to blame but
“ themselves.

“ 3. The

“ 3. The excise is the next article to be considered. And
 “ here it must be confessed, that in a few instances, and in
 “ a very small degree, even the frugal in the lower classes
 “ may be taxed. The excise on malt, hops and cyder,
 “ also on soap, candles and leather with the duty on salt,
 “ must affect the most parsimonious among them in some
 “ small proportion. But were they to be content with a
 “ moderate Quantity of Cyder, or one-way Beer,—and
 “ were they to buy the other Articles at the best Hand, it
 “ is not possible, that these Taxes (though the worst of
 “ any) could essentially hurt or impoverish them. As to
 “ the heavy Tax on spirituous Liquors, this is so far from
 “ being a real Grievance, that were it so high, as to amount
 “ to an absolute Prohibition (if that were possible) it would
 “ be the greatest Blessing, which could befall the common
 “ People.

“ As to the new Duties laid on Coaches, Carriages,
 “ Horses, Male Servants, fine Hats,” armorial Bearings,
 Powder, &c. “ these surely do not affect the labouring
 “ Poor: for they are exempted by their very condition
 “ from paying any of these Taxes.

“ 5. The like Observations may extend to the Stamp
 “ Duties in all their Branches. Indeed, if the ignorant
 “ Populace will buy Newspapers, and commence Poli-
 “ ticians, they are not to be pitied; for they ought to pay
 “ for their folly.

“ 6. The tax on the postage of letters cannot materially
 “ affect the poor, and even if it did, the post-tax is so much
 “ cheaper than any other mode of conveyance, that it can-
 “ not be made a matter of complaint.

“ Lastly, as to the tax for the maintenance of the poor,
 “ burthensome as it is here in England, this falls altogether
 “ on the middling and higher ranks in society, and not on
 “ the lowest, or the meanest.

“ Upon

“ Upon the whole, it evidently appears, even from this brief survey, that the majority of the English Nation, [that is, male and female servants, low mechanics, journeymen, fishermen, and sailors, day-labourers, and all kinds of cottagers, with their numerous families,] are not heavily or oppressively taxed. And supposing that similar taxes were to be laid on Ireland, the poor of that country would escape tax-free,* at least according to their present mode of living; for they use and consume much less Malt, Hops, and Cyder, less Salt, Soap, and Candles, Leather, and Stamps, than the poor of England are known to do. Therefore they have much less to pay.

“ But, indeed, were an Union to take place, why should it be supposed that the taxes must be invariably the same? They are not so in Scotland, nor can any reason be assigned why they must be exactly the same in Ireland. On the contrary, many regulations might be suggested, especially in regard to the land-tax, which would enrich Ireland, instead of impoverishing it. For it can never be too often repeated, that any tax, which promotes industry and encourages a circulation of labour, enriches a country; and any tax, which checks industry and stops labour, necessarily impoverishes the country in the same proportion. This is the true touch-stone for discovering the merit or demerit of any tax.

“ Ireland is continually complaining that her trade is cramp'd, and her people have not work; yet there are no people

“ * The claim of opening Parliament to Popish pretensions is said to be a claim made on the right of three millions. Now of these three millions, it is a known fact, that two millions, one hundred thousand are, by the late Hearth Money act, excused on account of poverty from paying four-pence a year each to the State.”

Speech of Robert Johnson, Esq. Member for Hillsborough, before the Irish House of Commons, May 24, 1795.—Dublin, Printed by Mercier.

“ people under the sun who take so much pains to cramp
“ her trade, and check her industry, as the Irish themselves.
“ Were they to create an Yeomanry [and they alone * must
“ do it,] this very circumstance would raise up such a de-
“ mand for the consumption of their internal produce, and
“ coarse manufactures, as would give full employment to their
“ present miserable, lazy, starving poor, for ages to come. But
“ they unhappily expect a foreign trade, without an Home
“ consumption; thereby grasping at the shadow, and let-
“ ting go the substance. They think it good policy to *keep*
“ the

"the

* The great tracts of land that are given in lease, and divided by the Lessee, to be sub-divided by other Lessees, until the Cottager is crushed by the number of those, whom he has to support above him, is a sore and crying evil. It is hence that the lands in Ireland are let § higher, though they are purchased cheaper than in this country; while the Tenant does not receive as much for his produce; and even of the returns of this produce, he has by no means a portion equal to that of the English Tenant. Were the gentlemen of Ireland to adopt the plain principle of those in England, by taking one-third of the produce of the land, and giving the remaining two-thirds to the Farmer for his profit and expences of cultivation; and if the lands were let solely to those who occupy them, a yeomanry would soon arise valuable to all parties.

§ Mr. Arthur Young's opinion is, that if an allowance be made for the disproportion between the English and Irish acre, and the difference of the currency (1s. 8d. in the pound) in both countries the lands of Ireland are not let higher than those of England. There is a deference due to the investigations of Mr. Young; and his opinion is just, if formed upon the rental received by the *owners in fee* of the lands of Ireland; for their rents are extremely low and moderate. Or if he has formed his calculation upon the rental of even the lessees under the *owner in fee*, (many of whose tenures are for 999 years) it may perhaps be just. But if a calculation were formed upon the rental paid by the *cultivators* in Ireland (whose case we are here considering) and upon that paid by the same description in England, it would be found after all allowances for size of acre and currency of money, that the lands of Ireland are let higher than those of England. This is an opinion formed upon much enquiry and intercourse with the two countries.

"the mass of their people so poor, and so destitute of the three great necessaries of life, food, raiment, and dwelling, [which, by the by, are the foundation of all commerce whatever, even the most brilliant and extensive] that their black cattle are almost, if not altogether, as good customers to the community, and as much promote the trade of it, as the peasantry of Ireland—that is, in other words, as five-sixths, perhaps as nine-tenths of the mass of the people."

This is a point which calls for peculiar consideration, as one of the first importance, in these times. At every period, however, husbandmen are of higher value to a state than those endowed with the sharpest invention or most profound genius. But if industry be not animated by due remunerations, all the rich gifts of God and Nature to that Island are vain. As well might great portions of its land have remained buried in the chaos, or overwhelmed by the waters. Under incorporation, new repose and widely extended trade must arise, with a whole system of industry, encouragement, and happiness, blessing and exalting the nation. Incorporation is the angular stone of its greatness. Its natives, whose talent and industry are scattered over the earth, will no longer explore foreign climates or dangerous deserts, if they be happy at home. Neither will foreign markets be so necessary for commerce, when there is through home industry an home* trade and good price for the commodities. The influence extending from this to the agricultural system will put all these co-operating powers in motion, which tend to the population and prosperity of Ireland. For agriculture

* Perhaps a better criterion of the happy effects of industry can not be had than the home consumption of Britain compared with its trade all over the globe. The profits of the *home* trade are calculated by Mr. Pitt at 28 millions: The profits on the foreign trade at but 12 ditto.

culture is not only the first and great source of wealth to a state ; but agriculture and population are like the ocean and the rivers which supply each other. Agriculture promotes population, by invigorating the bodies of men, and by furnishing food for an increased progeny. And population promotes agriculture by the consumption of the fruits of the earth. Agriculture gives *existence* to the landed interest, population is its *support*.

“ Were a land-tax * of 100,000l. a year to be constantly levied on lands and houses in Ireland, as in England : “ but were the *occupiers* of dwelling houses in cities, towns, “ and villages, under the rent of three pounds a year, to be totally exempted ; also every cottage or cabbin in the country, to which was annexed any quantity of land, “ not exceeding half an Irish acre, to be exempted likewise ; moreover, were every farm, not exceeding 50 Irish acres [provided it had a *dwelling house*, upon it inhabited by the farmer, or owner himself,] to be taxed only three-pence annually for each acre ; were every other farm, circumstanced in the same manner, and not exceeding 100 Irish acres, to be taxed six-pence annually

c.

“ for

“ * The greatest advantage attending the English land-tax is that it is not subject to fluctuations in the proportions to be observed. In which it widely differs from the land-taxes in France, which arose according to the improvement of land, or the advancement of rent. What the Proportions were on each county, city, or borough town in the reign of King William, the same proportions have remained to this day. Consequently the sum levied on each individual operates as a *quit rent* on his estate, to spur him on to improve it as much as he can ; knowing, that if he should improve the estate so much as to double, or treble his rental, he shall pay no more ; and were he to let the land run into an uncultivated wilderness, he should pay no less. The great improvements of the landed estates in England, date their origin from this cause.”

“ for each acre ; but were all other lands or farms of a larger extent, or not so circumstanced, to be rated to the land-tax at two shillings per acre [unless they happened to be barren rock, or inclaimable bog, not capable of improvement, or lands covered with woods, or coppices] these few regulations would soon fill the Irish towns and cities with industrious inhabitants, and the country with laborious cottagers and working farmers ; most of them in easy circumstances, and none too proud or too lazy for their condition and station in life.

“ Another good circumstance would naturally arise from such a plan. The present clamors for protecting duties and prohibitory laws would cease of course. Clamors which betray a total ignorance of the true interest of that country, because Ireland ought always to excite an emulation among her mechanics and manufacturers to excel her rivals, instead of checking and preventing it by monopolies, pains, and penalties. And above all, Ireland should never use such a conduct towards other nations, especially towards the English, her best, and almost only customers, as would provoke them to retaliate the injury upon herself with redoubled vengeance. For were England to lay the same duties on Irish linens, which she doth on German, and other foreign linens :—the whole linen trade of Ireland, her only staple manufacture, and the source of all her wealth, would sink to nothing.*

“ The

* There have been 52,000,000 yards of linen exported in one year. Great Britain by her protection secures a monopoly of this branch to Ireland. In the English market Irish linens have an advantage of 37 per cent. over German linens, and receive a bounty of three-half-pence per yard on re-exportation ; for all, whereof the value does not exceed eighteen-pence per yard.

Such

“ The second popular objection against an Union, is that
 “ the English and Scotch Members, in this supposed united Par-
 “ liament, being so many more in number than the Irish, the
 “ majority would conspire against the minority, and out-vote them
 “ on all occasions of competition: so that Ireland would be op-
 “ pressed instead of being benefited.

“ Strange delusion! which takes these things for granted,
 “ that are both *improbable* in theory, and *impracticable* in
 “ fact. The supposition is utterly improbable, that an
 “ Union should ever take place, without such *Preliminaries*
 “ *being settled*, as would prevent either of the contracting
 “ parties from having the power to lay a greater burden of
 “ taxes, or to put more restraints on trade, or to curtail any
 “ of the liberties of the other party, beyond what the arti-
 “ cles of Union shall authorize. An infraction of the terms
 “ dissolves the Union *ipso facto*, and restores the injured
 “ country to its former state of independence.

“ The like conspiracy is equally *impracticable* in fact, be-
 “ cause where there is no clashing of interest, there can be
 “ no competition either for *power** or *profit*. Thus, for
 “ example,

Such are the advantages on the Linen Trade: let us now see
 what are the advantages on the general Trade between the two
 Countries.

In the year 1795 the Irish Im-
 ports, into the Port of Lon-
 don, amounted to

£. 2,209,501 3 4

British Manufacture exported
 from thence to Ireland

168,687 18 3

Balance of Trade in *favour of*
 Ireland from only one Port

2,040,813 5 1

N. B. The balance at Liverpool, where the Linens are chiefly
 imported, must be immense.

* The principle of this argument applies with no small force to
 the Internal Parties of Ireland, in favor of an Incorporative Union.

“ example, when Ireland shall be so united, as to form one
 “ country with Eng'land, the power of the one will equally
 “ become the power of the other. No man considers the
 “ strength of Yorkshire, as in any degree separate from, or
 “ opposed to that of Devonshire and Cornwall ; though they
 “ are much farther distant from each other, than England
 “ and Ireland. For they both must stand, or fall, or rise
 “ together. And the case of Scotland affords a still stronger
 “ illustration.

“ As to profit, or interest, the same ideas must recur.—
 “ For, properly speaking, no competition of interests can
 “ have any effect on the Legislature, to make partial laws
 “ on either side ;—it being evident, that each country, and
 “ each part of the island must enjoy their own peculiar ad-
 “ vantages, natural, or artificial, without let or molestation.
 “ At this instant, Yorkshire is getting the cloathing trade
 “ from the West of England, by means of its superior fruga-
 “ lity, œconomy, mechanic skill, and industry. And what
 “ will be the consequence ? Plainly this, that the West must
 “ adopt the like measures and police with the North, or de-
 “ servedly suffer for their folly. But according to the notion
 “ here broached, another mode might be adopted. York-
 “ shire returns only thirty Members to Parliament ; whereas
 “ the several counties of Gloucester, Wilts, Dorset, and So-
 “ merset, much of the same extent with Yorkshire, and all
 “ united in one common monopolizing cause against it, re-
 “ turn no less than eighty Members. Therefore poor York-
 “ shire ought to be in a terrible fright, lest this vast majority
 “ in the House of Commons shall enact restraining, or pro-
 “ hibitory laws to crush the trade of the North, in order to
 “ favour the manufactures of the West ?

“ No : Yorkshire is in no fright : and entertains no such
 “ apprehensions : nor even Scotland : notwithstanding this
 “ latter

“ latter hath not a twelfth part or share in the Legislature of
 “ Britain. Yet all parts are safe, and will ever so remain :
 “ for it is not in the power of the majority to hurt the minor-
 “ ity in these respects. Such a scheme would defeat itself.

“ The last objection, and perhaps the most popular of any
 “ in the streets of Dublin, is, that were the Parliament in
 “ Ireland to be removed to England, the money now spent in
 “ Dublin would be lost to that country, and gained to this.

“ Now this objection is built on a vulgar notion, which is
 “ entirely false, that *money is riches*. Whereas industry and
 “ frugality are the two riches of a state : and money only the
 “ sign of them. Nay, if money becomes the sign of riches
 “ in one sense, it may be an indication of poverty in another.
 “ For the circulation of gold and silver, or the transferring
 “ of these metals from hand to hand, is no otherwise useful
 “ to a state, than as it promotes the circulation of labour and
 “ industry. Wherever it is not productive of this good effect,
 “ the greatest quantity of gold and silver is so far from being
 “ beneficial to the community, that it is the greatest detri-
 “ ment. The Spaniards have experienced this to their cost.
 “ History tells us, there was a time when Spain was full of
 “ industry and manufactures. But when a Mode was intro-
 “ duced of getting money without labour, by means of the
 “ mines of Mexico and Peru, and by plundering and seizing
 “ on the wealth of the defenceless Moors, and Jews, the
 “ looms and all the apparatuses for carrying on extensive
 “ manufactures were laid aside : and Spain soon became one of
 “ the poorest, and worst cultivated countries in the western
 “ world.”

But there are striking instances of this important truth, that
money is not riches, within our own experience. For, where-
 ever money is idly spent, the people are uniformly poor.—
 Amidst all the splendor and brilliant extravagance of Ver-
 failles,

failles, how relatively poor were its inhabitants to those in commercial parts! Reflect also upon the Sovereign residences in Italy: look to Vienna, and Berlin: examine the poverty in Dresden where the rich Saxon Elector holds his Court: What does the wealth of the Sovereign and Nobles of the two Electorates produce at Munich! Pass to the residence of the inferior Sovereigns, where splendor and dissipation predominate, and mark the effects! The seat of all prosperous manufactures, over the universe, is removed from the haunt of dissipation.* Now pass into Britain: and observe what immense sums are spent weekly in dress, pursuits of pleasure, prodigality, luxury of table, horses, servants, gaming, &c. at Bath, by perhaps an average of 20,000 strangers, besides residents, in the season. And are the people of Bath rich? Has any manufacture sprung up there amidst this splendid extravagance:—or what man would think of entering on such † an undertaking? Yet nature seems to have destined this as a seat for manufacture: it has directed here a river in its course; whose banks are peculiarly adapted to the erection of mills; whose streams are never exhausted, but form a communication with the second trading town in the British Empire.— And if Riches could accelerate success, here is money, and votaries of pleasure in crowds, to purchase the necessaries of vanity and ostentation. But there is notwithstanding no manufacture here, because here no manufacture would prosper. Throughout all the island, at all the places of pleasurable resort.

* Before dissipation was so great or universal in Dublin, the Manufactures in that Quarter called the *Liberty* were extremely flourishing. But at this day what a scene does it present?

† On this principle the Citizens of London interfered against the Royalty Theatre being opened for Dramatic exhibitions. The whole town of Manchester some time since, had not a single family within its walls, that were not the children of trade and occupation.

fort and dissipation, much money circulates, but the inhabitants remain poor.* "Indeed, even Ireland can afford a confirmation of this important truth. For wherever money is idly spent, as it always is in supporting horse-races, promoting amusements and diversions, &c. &c. the people of such places are always poor, on that account, and never can thrive effectually, till these temptations are removed out of their way.

"But still it will be urged that during a Parliament-Winter, great sums are spent in Dublin, by the nobility and gentry of Ireland, which would have been carried out of the kingdom, were the Parliament removed.

Granted; that a part but not the whole of this would be transferred. But if the whole were transferred, it would be the removal of a detriment: for inasmuch as dissipation withers, manufactures must grow up: and further, as the Union produces security and repose, commerce must extend; and consequently its advantages infinitely counterbalance all apparent losses: they in reality would prove gains.

"Beside great sums were once expended in Edinburgh, when the Court was kept, and the Parliament held in that metropolis. And what was the consequence?— Edinburgh was then a very poor place; but it is now a great and wealthy city. Its trade and commerce, merchants and manufacturers are in a more thriving state than ever they were during the time it was made the seat of government and legislation. Whereas now its buildings are not only more extended, but also are grand and elegant. Therefore it may be fairly asked, how is it that such great alterations have been brought to pass? Plainly thus:

* Compare the wealth of the inhabitants of Bath to that of the Bristol merchants: yet Bath has had an infinitely longer run in its trade of dissipation, than Bristol in its commerce.

“ thus: Edinburgh was poor, when devoted to pleasures, amusements, and diversions, (as Dublin is at present); but on the removal of the Parliament, Edinburgh became the seat of industry and manufactures.”

But say the inhabitants of Dublin, in their short-sighted fears, the trade of the metropolis will be ruined, for commerce will transfer itself to the best harbours; Cork, Derry, Galway, and Belfast, will thrive; whereas Dublin must decline. How weak is the too great egotism of mankind! This cannot possibly be the case; and suppose it were, that a great bulk of the commerce flowed into those ports, still Dublin must thrive, and its trade extend. Can the capital, or head of a nation droop and die, while the different members of the kingdom are increasing the sound sources of civil life, and the whole body accumulating vigour? This dread is altogether absurd. Dublin, being the seat of the Treasury and National Bank, must ever be the centre of exchange, and being the centre of exchange for universal commerce, (which commerce must, under repose and security, extend to an incalculable degree), consequently and incontrovertibly Dublin must become the scene of a proportionate and increased trade.

London is a proof of this. This metropolis is the seat of exchange for her trading towns with the commercial world. If money be due from Hamburg to Manchester, it is paid in London: if it be due from York to Exeter, it passes through the medium of a bank in London. And the consequence is before us in the extensive trade of London. Beside, a corroboration of this fact is found in the practice of Ireland itself. If orders go from England to Cork for provisions to any amount, do the graziers take bills upon the commissary in England, whence the orders come, or upon a bank in London? Certainly upon neither; they must have

a bill

a bill upon Dublin. Therefore, it is obvious, that let the commerce of Ireland be extended in what manner it may, either in direction or in quantity, its influence must finally be felt, and be commensurate in the Capital.

Moreover, a proof of the ill-founded fears in Dublin, as to its local losses in trade, supposing the Union to take place, appears in the fact of London, Bristol, and Liverpool. For, how far superior to these ports, are those of Portsmouth, Plymouth, Milford-haven, &c. for commerce? Yet, notwithstanding all these natural and extreme defects of London, Bristol, &c. they have not lost their trade. And why? Because when once an establishment, vast in its combination, and extensive in its parts, has taken root, it is difficult to remove it. Its relations and its habitudes are its security. No situation can be worse than that of London, as to every natural defect, for trade; but its artificial basis has become too broad for its disadvantages to overturn it. The inhabitants of Dublin therefore need not have such fears for their loss of trade. The Capital of a commercial nation is like the human heart, through which all the blood must flow: whether the nutrition, from which it has been formed, results from the operations of the hand, the head, or any other member. By whatever ports commerce enters into Ireland, Dublin must be the great seat of action. And what the difference is between the action of commerce and the action of dissipation, may be seen in the vigorous animation on Ludgate-Hill, compared to the lounging in Bond-street, and the sauntering at Bath.

“ Much hath been said by certain writers in praise of an “ influx of money into a nation, *merely as such*; without “ considering what effect this money hath upon the com- “ munity, whether to make men industrious, or to make “ them idle. And it must be confessed, that traders in ge-

“ neral are so narrow-sighted as scarcely to entertain any
 “ other idea of the *goodness* of trade, than as it may enable
 “ them to accumulate more gold and silver than their neigh-
 “ bours, and with less trouble. Then *that* trade is a good
 “ one. Now, were this the true idea of a good trade, the
 “ inhabitants of ancient Rome had the best in the world:
 “ for their trade was to plunder all nations, and to share
 “ the spoil among themselves. Yet we know from his-
 “ tory, that the mass of the Roman people were poor and
 “ indigent in an extreme degree. For they were not able
 “ to borrow money for less than 12 per cent. per annum:
 “ and they were not to be trusted, but from month to
 “ month. Many other examples of the wretchedness and
 “ poverty of this brave and blustering, but idle and extra-
 “ vagant people, might be given.

“ But waving all instances from antiquity, let us take a
 “ view of things appertaining to our own times. The
 “ county of Down, for instance, is allowed to be one of
 “ the most industrious, and consequently the richest in all
 “ Ireland. Would you, therefore, in order to augment its
 “ wealth, to encrease its industry, and to secure temperance,
 “ sobriety, and frugality among its manufacturers;—would
 “ you, I say, think it advisable to remove the Parliament
 “ from Dublin, and plant the Members of both Houses in
 “ groups in the manufacturing parts of the county of Down?
 “ And what would be the effect of such plantations?—The
 “ application is obvious.

“ Nevertheless, strong and convincing as these reasons
 “ for an Union are, I do not depend on them for success in
 “ the present case.* For that man must be very ignorant
 “ of human nature, who expects to subdue deep-rooted pre-
 “ judice, merely by the force of reasoning. *But there is a*
 “ tide

“ tide in human affairs to which prejudice itself must yield,
“ because it cannot resist it.”

At this moment, if the good sense of Ireland be not supreme, and all passion put down, she may be lost. It is an universal crisis of men and things. And no man can say upon what centre or basis they will repose. Amidst this general concussion, and the particular shock of Ireland, where is her safety? Is it in her own arms? Certainly not. “ Non exercitus neque thesauri præsidia regni sunt, verum
“ amici.” (Sal.) As to the colossal power which tramples upon the globe, the more it shakes it, the sooner it will fall. Amidst the concussions of this moment it trembles. The party in Ireland which cries to it for protection, should reflect! The other party in Ireland, which cries to England for protection, should also reflect! This moment is big with the fate of both.

“ The Americans and the English could not agree about
“ the very same points, on which the Irish and English
“ now differ. The Americans expected to enjoy all pro-
“ tection, and every kind of benefit, by their connexion
“ with England, but absolutely refused to bear any part of
“ the common burden. For they declared such a stipula-
“ tion to be a surrender of their *unalienable* rights. The
“ inevitable consequence was either a separation, or an
“ Union. Happily for England, an Union, on account of
“ the distance being impracticable, a total separation ne-
“ cessarily took place.

“ Respecting Ireland, one or other of the same conse-
“ quences must inevitably follow. For after tropes and
“ figures have been let off without number, after torrents
“ of eloquence have been poured forth, much paper blotted,
“ and much ink spilt,—RE COURSE MUST BE HAD AT
“ LAST, EITHER TO A SEPARATION,—OR TO AN
“ UNION.

“ UNION. For plainly there is no other alternative ;—
 “ no other medium to be discovered, or cement which can
 “ last for any length of time.

“ Probably in the first onset, and during the paroxysm
 “ of the patriotic fit,—a total Separation may be resolved
 “ upon, according to the unalienable doctrines of Locke
 “ and Molineux, Price and Priestley, and according to the
 “ pattern set by the Americans. In which case it will be
 “ the wisdom and the interest of Great Britain to remain a
 “ spectator, as *unconcerned* as possible, by giving these mis-
 “ guided zealots no manner of disturbance in the prosecution
 “ of their wild scheme, but letting them feel their own in-
 “ significance, by their smarting under the lash of their
 “ own folly. This will much sooner bring them to a just
 “ way of thinking, than any compulsive measures whatever.
 “ For, after having made the trial, they will gladly ac-
 “ cept of those conditions and of such an Union, as they
 “ had spurned at before with contempt and indignation.
 “ Therefore it is evident to any man, who will reason
 “ coolly on the natural course of human affairs, that the
 “ shortest and most dire&t road to an Union between Great
 “ Britain and Ireland, is first to let the hot-headed among
 “ the Irish nation both see, and *feel* what they shall get,
 “ or rather what they must infallibly lose by their *favourite*
 “ *Independence*, and the necessary consequence of it,—a
 “ **SEPARATION.**”

Rather let Ireland soberly reflect, how Britain rose, under the sublime sanction of her Government, through commerce, from nothing into something, and from something into greatness. For, she who commands the sea, commands commerce ; she who commands the commerce, commands the wealth ; and she who commands the wealth of the world, must

must command the world itself. To an Union of this nature then Ireland is called. That or Separation is before her.

If Holland vanquished Nature, though the four elements all combined warred against her, and rose by commerce to opulence and power, what then may Ireland expect into whose lap Nature has poured a profusion of her blessings? Give her but stability * and repose, under an Incorporative Union, and the dreams of avarice will not outstrip her prosperity. What has the poor and barren Scotland done under the auspices of an Union; and what shall not Ireland do, teeming with all the treasures of the animal, vegetable and mineral † kingdoms: with such ports, climates, soil, rivers, harbours, and position upon the globe: with an active, strong, and robust race of men, quick in their perceptions and solid in their combinations? Constituted as Europe now is, power is manifestly in proportion to wealth, and wealth must ever be in proportion to commerce. Ireland therefore possesses the means of power to a degree that all the advantages of Nature can bestow, or art may procure, if she has security and peace. When these are established by Incorporation with Britain, all the seas of the universe will be enriched by the burdens of her commerce, and her bosom be for ever closed against indigent idleness, indigent venality,

* The opulence of England will then promote the commerce and agriculture of Ireland.

† It is stated on the first authority that the mineral treasures of Ireland are equal, if not beyond, those of any other country in Europe. If security then be once established, what may not the wealth of English companies dig out of these mines? Were it not wise in the University of Dublin, to make mineralogy a part of their system of Education; that gentlemen might know the value of their property, or professional men be brought up to inquire into it?

venality, indigent avarice and ambition, against indigence and rebellion.

Should it however be urged, that the value of property in and about Dublin must be diminished by the decrease of population, or change of trade to other ports; first, we deny the position, as unfounded: and next, if the ground of the position were true, so much the better. But it is false on the clear views of trade which have been given before. It is false, because the numbers which will be summoned* to attend the British Parliament will be comparatively inconsiderable to those which will not be summoned. And it is false, because, increased Commerce must give increased wealth and population, and consequently increase the value of land and houses about Dublin.

But, suppose that all this were not true, (and it were a supposition in the very teeth of truth,—but suppose, that part of the Commerce were to pass to *Galway, Cork, Derry, or Belfast*. So much the better! Because manufactures could be rendered more cheap, where there is less luxury and less population. This is the grand secret for success, in commercial emulation: all the results of skill and capital are to produce cheapness, and enable the manufacturer to undersell others, in foreign markets. Again, it is so much the better,

* The number of Peers may be perhaps about 32. There are at present 41 Irish Nobles, who are Peers in Britain: and there are about 81 Irish Peers, residents in Britain—consequently as out of these, several, if not most perhaps of the 32 Peers may be chosen, where will be the great diminution of resident Peers in Ireland?—As to the Commons, the number may be about 100: Now it is a well-known fact, that the leading Commoners of Ireland spend a certain portion of each year in England, and more than may be necessary for the attendance on Parliament. It will therefore be in reality but a change of season as to the time of absence, as it is presumed that they will, like all other country Gentlemen, be glad to get their release and betake themselves to their demesnes, domestic scenes, and rural amusements.

better, from the convenience for external commerce. But on the contrary, suppose that there were not any of these advantages of cheapness and convenience to extend the scale of commerce: and suppose further, that the trade thus transferred would not increase, (which is impossible,) still after all these suppositions against reason and against experience, we say that it matters not to the *Nation* at large, whether it receives its treasures with the right or left hand. Or rather indeed it is a matter of much importance, that it should accumulate opulence with two hands, rather than with one, and have the other withered. Dublin should rejoice, if Ireland were to become a Briareus of Commerce.

Diffusive happiness, arising from general industry and wealth, is the greatest blessing of a state. Let not Dublin then realize the fable of the war of the members. An overgrown head is the emblem of disease, and usually forebodes death. The skilful architect proportions his base to his capital. And no Statuary would weakly hope to support the head of a Colossus upon the trunk of a Pigmy.

The views of sound policy and true patriotism embrace the interest of an entire people, or a whole empire; and reject false calculations of individual or local advantage. But suppose that this maxim, which is an eternal truth, were false; and that the inhabitants of the capital were to be guided solely by self-interest: Still in their pursuit of riches, it is not amidst the dissipations of the Great, nor amidst the idleness and corruption of their trains during Parliament, that they will find them. It is amidst flax and wool and workshops. “To increase the riches of a kingdom,” said the celebrated Colbert, on a consultation relative to commerce, “we must find out manufactures to give employment to the poor, and work to the idle. Flax, silk, and wool are our objects.” Through the medium of such wealth,

wealth, luxury will not breathe its corrupt influence on the capital: instead of riot there will be decency, order, and opulence; instead of shops there will be ware-houses. Dissipation and immoral extravagance may, like whirlwinds, rifle one place to raise up heaps in another: but riches thus rapidly collected, are as rapidly dissipated. Riches are in truth, a moral poison; yet like natural poisons, which after passing through certain operations become not only medicine but wholesome food, so do they become the support of society.— And beside, if from gold, luxurious vices originate; from poverty, crimes are produced. But the specific against both is honest industry.

To this test let all the opposition of the capital be brought, and the inhabitants will soon perceive, that if their Parliament House could be converted into the seat of a New Manufacture, or should it be transformed into a Woollen-hall like that of Leeds, the change would be advantageous and beneficial both to themselves, and the nation at large.

It is commerce that has freed Kings from slavery and people from oppression. If therefore the grounds of complaint, so strongly urged by the association of united Irishmen, have, (which we do not admit) real existence, commerce is an infallible remedy. And if they have not existence, commerce is the source of glory, splendor, opulence, and happiness.— For the acquisition of all which, Incorporation is the Charter.

But will any of those advantages be enjoyed without Incorporation? Separation follows, according to the authority of Dean Tucker; and according to arguments and considerations which will appear in their proper place. Since then one of those two events must result, we shall lay before men no uncertain *Data* in the Documents of Commerce, where-

by

by they may calculate what they have to hope from British connexion and incorporation, and what they are to fear in its loss.

IRISH COMMERCE DURING THE LAST CENTURY,
FROM 1698 TO 1798.

	£.	s. d.
In 1698 her balance of Commerce amounted to	400,220	0 0
In 1703, unable to support her Civil Establishment, the Commons laid her "deplorable state" before the Queen.	—	—
From 1768 to 1779 the average balance	600,000	0 0
In 1779, as in the year 1703 (see Woodfall's Report of Mr. Burgh's speech in the Irish House of Commons, Aug. 12, 1785)	—	—
In 1785 Exports to Britain 2,500,000		
Imports from ditto 1,000,000		
Balance	1,500,000	0 0

[Here it should be remarked that these Irish Exports were admitted *duty free* into Britain: and that on every article of British import, a revenue was raised in Ireland. The consumption of Irish linens at this period was only 20 millions of yards, (it is now about 52,) and to favour this, Britain taxed herself annually 450,000l. She laid an heavy duty on Russian and German linens, and paid an advance price for the Irish ones. The consequence is before us in the immense increase of the linen

trade at this day. But her influence over the linen trade may be ascertained from another fact of the same date, not less convincing, though alarming. In 1750 Ireland exported more sail cloth than she imported: but at that period Britain commenced a bounty on the export of their own sail cloth. The consequence was the total ruin of that manufacture. For in 1784 *none* was exported from Ireland, and 180,000 yards annually imported.]

In 1795 Irish Imports into one Port, viz.

London 2,209,501l. 3s. 4d.

British Manufactures

from Ireland to 168,687l. 18s. 4d.

Balance from only one -----

Port in favour of Ireland 2,040,813 50

In the year 1785 Irish linens brought in two millions annually to that country: but we perceive from the last statement, that the balance from one single port exceeded this amount by 40,813l. But we shall further see how through English ports, extensive capitals, and dealings, the linens have found their way to foreign places to an immense amount: and so must it be with other fabrics. Such is the fostering hand and participation of British commerce! From the following statement laid before the British House of Commons, and which shows the prosperity of the linen trade, an important lesson may be learned by Ireland.

Irish Linens *exported* from England, in

three quarters, to Oct. 10, 1797,	157,681	16 0
Ditto in three quarters, to Oct. 1798,	276,929	15 6

Increase

Increase in three quarters, and during the rebellion	£.119,247 19 6
If we may calculate a fourth quarter on this ratio in order to make up a year's increase	29,811 19 10h
<hr/>	
Total of one year's increase during the Rebellion	£.149,059 19 4h

It appears also that a century since (1698) her balance of commerce with the **WHOLE WORLD** was *less* than *one fifth* what it now is with *one Port* in Britain: and that thirty years since, her balance of commerce with the *whole world* was about *one fourth* of what it now is with a *single Port* in Britain. The application of those facts to the *advantages* of British Commerce, to be increased through Incorporation or lost through Separation, are obvious. Besides, we should consider that England supplies* Ireland with salt, for fisheries and provisions: hops, that she cannot grow: tin, that she has not: bark, that she cannot procure elsewhere: coals, without duty; though her own subjects pay two, three, and four shillings a chaldron duty for coals sent coastways, and in London, seven shillings.

In the establishment of all manufactures, and to which we look through the security of Incorporation, there are two leading obje&ts. The first is, cheapness as to provision and labour, and that is in Ireland: the next is a near, sure, and

* See Woodfall's Debate, August 12, 1785, in the Commons of Ireland, Chancellor of the Exchequer's speech.

and extensive market, and this is in England. Consequently, with a good climate, equal natural powers, cheaper food, and lower labour, the skill and capital of England will find its way to Ireland, in order to sell to England: and with superior situation, and ports for commerce, the skill and capital of England will find its way to Ireland to sell to, and undersell all the world.

Under Incorporation, commercial jealousy must subside, and each country forgetting rivalship, enjoy its own natural and artificial advantages, for their respective and united benefits. One nation will pursue that manufacture which it can fabricate with most profit; and buy from the other what it can render better and cheaper. The communication between their respective markets will be encouraged by a mutual preference; and consolidated and united they will soon out-rival all the strangers of the universe.

Commercial jealousy has been too long irritating both countries. It has been increased, and political jealousy has been roused by two Independent Legislatures. If the powers of the two nations, thus connected, yet jealous, be separately employed for commercial and civil aggrandisement, is it possible that their political Union must not be shocked? Separation of interest must inevitably occasion separation of connexion. Has it not nearly produced it at this day?

If we view for a moment the history of states, we may safely say, on the analogy of facts, that Ireland must, in the wildest scheme of Republican freedom, ever be a connected state. The plan of rebellious separations demonstrates this truth: for it looked to connexion with France. But nothing save human phrenzy, could have conceived or supported this extravagant purpose. Let the situation of Ireland internal and external be examined: where is there more

civil

civil freedom? where can men have such advantages as to commerce and protection? For, protection, and powerful protection she must have with such internal weakness and such a line of coast. Where then such advantages, as to protection and commerce? Besides, no country on the globe would connect with Ireland, but on terms of benefit, contribution and concession. What nation upon earth then, would give, or could give such protection or such terms, as Britain? Let the map of the world be examined: Let the power of each empire be balanced: Let the interests of each state be sifted: Let the politics of all Europe be considered: and then let it be said, if the *Commerce*, the *Constitution*, the *Religions* of Ireland could or can owe their safety, but to British connexion alone? That connexion indeed is an axiom in politics so self-evident, that it is the fixed principle of the wise man, and the canting pretence of the cunning knave. But that connexion will not, cannot subsist with radical principles of separation. For, the truth cannot be too often repeated, where there is *separation of interest*, *separation of connexion* must follow. Whereas, by Incorporation, security, freedom, opulence, and power are offered: far better than French Republics, or Utopian Directories.

But it may be asked, why does Britain offer Incorporation, and such participation of benefits—*timeo Danaos dona ferentes*? Most truly, on the principle of self-interest; liberality is the wise man's egotism. The self-interest of Britain is, at this day, understood to be inseparable from the interest of Ireland: her strength is Britain's strength; her greatness Britain's glory. She offers Incorporation, because she is sensible of the advantage of the connexion. She is anxious to give security to Ireland, because she is thus giving

giving* security to herself; because Ireland supports her navigation; † supplies her commerce with raw materials in linen-yarn, woollen-yarn and hides; because it gives her provisions, money, ‡ men, † and importance in the consideration of Foreign Powers; because it is for Britain, beyond the rampart of her rocks and the deep moat of the ocean, a citadel that she can surround with her invincible walls.

These are the important reasons why she would embosom her in her blessings. Will Ireland then embrace them and unite, or will she separate?

Separated, Ireland must be at war or peace with Britain. First: if she be at war, and a tool in the hands of the enemies of Britain, the consequence may be death to Britain if

* Had Britain an enemy in Ireland, and were she thus situated between two hostile lines East and West, what an extent of coast would she have to guard against on both sides and to protect at home? How would her commerce be endangered and hemmed in on every point? How would she be exposed to invasion? The passage from Ireland requires but boats and a short space of time.

† The trade between Great Britain and Ireland, employs, as we have heard, about half the tonnage of English commerce in Europe.

‡ Besides victualling the Navy, &c. Ireland is become a granary for England. It contains about seventeen million acres, which, though inferior in tillage, are superior in nature to the lands in England. For, even in this state, when they would require about 80 millions (or 5l. per acre) to bring them to the same degree of cultivation as those in England, Mr. A. Young estimates their acreable rental to be equal. We have before said that we believe this estimate to be under the reality; however, it gives twelve million 750 thousand pounds per annum.

§ The population of Ireland is not so high as stated in the late examination before the Parliament in that country. This was but an opinion; whereas, it appears from the hearth money books, that it is beneath five millions, but above four; perhaps it may be midway between both.

if she does not subdue Ireland. And if she does subdue her : the doctrine of prevention, against a case recurring so awful in its effects, may enforce the total destruction of Ireland.

But next suppose Ireland not at war with England : then according to those imperious dictates, which policy must prescribe for Britain, and according to the principle of the balance of Power, Ireland must not throw herself into the scale of France. If it does, war is declared : and the results follow, which have been already stated.

But suppose that these results were not to follow: would the case of Ireland, united with France, be improved? It would then indeed wear chains. And though embellished with a false name, would they be the lighter? If it looks for freedom in French fraternity, it is to be foolish beyond the privilege of passion. But if arguments, if facts, that the power of controversy cannot change, may add weight to opinion, hear the French themselves: judge them both by their words and actions.*

Suppose however that French fraternity were a kind embrace, and not a pressure incompatible with existence in wealth or independence—the supposition is however absurd—but what would be the result? † “ France would be rendered both the weaker and the poorer, by thus acquiring an Island so difficult to be governed, and so very expensive to be maintained.” Consequently though Ireland began in peace, she would be forced into war; though she began in liberty she would be forced into slavery: though she began in dreams of wealth, she would die in the pangs of poverty, blood, and civil abjection.

Again:

* See enumeration of the contributions, confiscations, and requisitions of the French Nation, with an account of the countries revolutionized since the commencement of the present war.

† Dean Tucker.

Again: suppose Ireland not at war but at peace with England, and in amity with France, or a Province of France, which ever is most pleasing: even in this case, though Britain and Ireland be separated, “ * the course of trade will be ruled by interest and by no other motive. Therefore so long as the English market will be the most eligible, so long the Irish will give Great Britain the preference to other countries.” And consequently Britain will be sure of the trade without the expence of protection.

But further; suppose the English were to reject them from their market—what then becomes of Ireland? Will America take all her linens? How blind are men who view objects through the medium of enthusiasm and passion! This however is at least a period for common prudence and common experience to teach mankind. But will Ireland trade to France, when driven out from England? “ It is impossible for her to trade with her to any advantage. For, she must be a loser in almost every article. She can send none of her manufactures into France, because they are rendered much cheaper in that country. And she can import nothing from thence, but what has a tendency to make her people idle instead of industrious.”

Thus then stands the case of Ireland: on the decision of which the existence of that state depends, and in which the repose and security of the British Empire are deeply involved.

From this point Ireland is to ascend or descend. Some change must, and will take place: and though it be not immediate, total separation will inevitably ensue, if a real Union, or Incorporation of the Parliaments be not adopted. But by this measure will the Constitution be altered? No! all the essential good will be thus retained; and the contingent evil, which

which has been so loudly murmured against, got rid of. The complaints of one party against faction and its consequences must cease: and the complaints of the other against subversion of the Constitution can be heard no more. The object is not to apply temporary palliatives to the one, nor to roughly amputate the newly-acquired powers of the other. Far otherwise! The Union proceeds upon radical principles, that its operation may be perpetual against disorder. The present conflict has cost his Majesty 10 millions of money and 40,000 subjects in Ireland. Must not every man be protected against his share in such calamities: the high and eminent, and the low and humble? Should not both religions be snatched from a Revolutionary death? Must not all property be saved from Republican rapacity? And since we have but one Constitution and one King, should we not have but one Senate, one sword, one purse, one prosperity, should we not form one United and Imperial Britain?

Thus all parties will stand under a greater scale of protecting vigilance; and the abilities and virtues of none be stunted by the absence of the Court. But while the Vice-roy remains for all the wise celerity and dispatch of Executive Government, the proportions of power, and the selection of merit, and the just pretensions of all, will be fixed upon a broader and securer basis—the solid claims of virtue and of talents.

The fourth objection is,—*that an Incorporative Union tends ultimately to separation.*

This assertion we deny. For, if the causes of separation, that is, if the elements of discord be dissolved, all combinations for this purpose will cease. And, that grounds of solid conciliation are contained in the measure of incorporation, we doubt not that the conflicting parties of this moment, will find, upon dispassionate deliberation.

The one body of men consists of those who founded their purposes of separation upon the *wrongs of Parliamentary factions*; we take their own statements in order to convince them upon the same point of strength, in which they have been pleased to place their motives. The other party consists of those men, who, roused at the meditated *subversion of Government*, have been victorious in its preservation.

Since, therefore, *Parliamentary factions* on one side, and annihilation of the Constitution on the other, form the grounds of complaint, a competent and specific remedy for both will be found in the Incorporative Union. It is the vehicle of dissolution for all the causes of separation so loudly urged by the one; and consequently for all the effects so justly dreaded by the other: to the one, it will give (instead of a party-government, or the rule of a Ministerial Cabinet, as they state it) the unparalleled blessings of a British Government; and, to the other, perfect security for the stability of this unequalled Government.—The Catholic will no longer have an ambitious and neighbouring zealot, as he calls the Irish Protestant, who is to rule over him; nor the Protestant have a bigotted and envious Catholic, as he terms him, to endanger his property or his power. But both sects will be unalterably secure against each other in the very source and origin of their complaints.

The security of the Catholic is obvious in the total removal of the causes: and the Protestant may fully perceive his security in the effects, when rebellion can have neither beginning nor end: that is, when the Parliament, whether *complained of* as the *instrument*, or *viewed* as the *object* of ambition, be incorporated with the British Legislature. But, should it still be asked, how will this incorporation of Parliament give more security than at present, against those

who

who really plot for *separation*, and whose complaints are but a mask? The answer is, that, when this Parliament is secured to one, and cannot injure the other by incorporation, then the *Empire* will decidedly protect itself against any branch or body, that should rise to violate the unquestionable blessings of its Constitution. Then, indeed, all complaints must be utterly vain; because no just cause for them can subsist, and because this will be known to the empire at large; whereas, at present, the knowledge with respect to Ireland, is really little, and that little much obscured. It is but the loud burst of explosion, which is heard at a distance, but of which the cause cannot be seen nor examined.

But, suppose unfounded complaints should arise, and arm for separation, what would be the result?—The reply to this question may also quiet the apprehension of some men, who state that the Catholics do not now desire legislative privilege; that, on the contrary, it serves them as a blind camp, which occupies attention while they seek success in another quarter, in physical not legislative power. Let this be admitted: and the answer is, that, so long as the two nations are in reality separated, (though nominally and apparently united,) instead of being incorporated in such a manner that no part can be influenced without the other, so long their interests are evidently not the same, and their mischiefs cannot be evidently and mutually felt. But if really incorporated, they then constitute one and the same point; they are then indivisible in their dangers, and must rise or fall together.—And herein is contained the stability of the Irish Constitution. The numbers to preserve these blessings to themselves will be as fourteen to three;—the numbers to destroy them are now three against one. Consequently, it must appear from hence, that as by physical force

force security is established—that as by the force of interest it is no less firmly established; therefore, upon those two principal and great grounds of force and interest, no separation can follow.

Moreover—the Protestants, in general, state (notwithstanding the contrary opinion on the part of others as to the change of political tactics) that the address of the Catholics not only *was* to get possession of the Parliament—"for then, say they, equality of power and superiority of numbers would have rendered them paramount"—but they state, that this plan is *still* persevered in. Be it granted, then:—and what follows?—that the object of this scheme, if it be separation, perishes at the moment of Incorporation.

But, suppose that Incorporation should not take place, and that the Catholics seek parliamentary power; their object either is, or is not separation. If it be not separation: is it a matter of much moment to the Government whether Catholics get into the Irish Parliament or not? If it be separation: why, then, not terminate it by Incorporation? But, whether it be separation, or otherwise; the Catholics either will or will not get into Parliament. So long as they do not, the legislative privilege will be sought with more avidity and more discord, the more it is refused. And if it be gained, let those, who resist incorporation, pause upon their fears.

Further: let it be considered, that, if Incorporation takes place, and the Irish Catholics were to request admission into the British Parliament, one of two events must follow—either the request would or would not be acceded to. But in both cases, the fears of the Irish Protestants must cease. For if the national voice, or the feelings of a British Parliament, were to silence the demand, the Protestants of Ireland could consequently have nothing to dread. Or—if, on the contrary, the British Constitution were not found

found too strong ; and if such an act were not an annihilation of its charters, but the Catholics were to be admitted into its Parliament ; certainly, the Irish Protestant could not possibly have any objection : because the inferior number of the Catholics, in such an united Parliament, and the identity of constitution in both countries, would form the protection of Ireland, as well as of Britain ; and because the former could not be injured without the latter. Hence, therefore all idea of separation vanishes.

Thus the one party, finding by Incorporation, security against the physical force or civil infringements of the other ; and the other party finding, by Incorporation, like security against all factious oppression, in whatever sense or strength they have thought proper to place it : we may, therefore, without charge of fancy, sound the dirge of *Separation*—*requies ea certa laborum* ! All parties will hence enjoy repose and security ; and unquestionably this security and repose will throw open the improved commerce of the *universe*. Herein, then, perish all thoughts of separation ; and the Constitution must live. Amidst the golden glory of virtuous and active commerce, men will contemplate blessings beyond the dreams of fancied power, and liberty beyond the flights of Republicanism. Imperial strength will then be found paramount to all parties in the state,—paramount to all enemies over the globe. It is under such important advantages of Incorporation, that men will become attached to the Government and to the state : they will feel that they have a country ; their first idea will be, security and imperial strength ; their second, prosperity and national peace. And thus, the different members coalescing into the amity *brethren*—Will they exhibit a group tending ultimately to separation ?

Far otherwise: but this great effect, so directly contrary to separation, cannot be brought about without an Incorporative Union. And were it produced otherwise, which is utterly impossible under the existing circumstances of Ireland, it would be unstable and insecure. Civil misery and separation must follow. Let us sift this point.

As nearly as moral deductions can approach demonstrative proof, we believe it may have appeared that the jarring conflicts of parties will cease under incorporation. Whereas, it is manifest *already*, that without this Incorporation, the claims and discords of party arise with *new* vigour, and upon *new* grounds; and that consequently tumultuary scenes menace an increase. Such then are the obvious effects of incorporation, and non-incorporation. Let us however, in order effectually to convince men that Union does not tend ultimately to separation, but that the very reverse of this proposition is the case, give them the strongest ground of argument, whereon they could combat, and still they will be defeated.

Suppose therefore, that all these intestine struggles and tumultuary commotions were to subside, and that happiness and virtue were to bless all ranks and conditions of men: that the upper and the lower orders had established by wise regulations a civil system cementing them in love and friendship; and that Catholics, and Protestants, and Dissenters, all lived in the endearing amity of brethren.—A more complete system of civil happiness, we believe no man will require. But the question, which follows this, is first, how long will it last? And next, if separation were to ensue, may not separated Ireland, thus established upon a basis of civil happiness and moral virtue, last and enjoy herself long?

To answer these questions, we shall recur to experience and facts: for, opinions may be vague, or resisted however solid and conclusive.

Both ancient and modern times furnish us with examples, that small states have not sufficient force to insure them *long life*. It was the case in Greece; it is the case in Switzerland, was in Genoa, and will probably be in all the New Republics. Societies, being composed of men, have the vices of men. Nations therefore are capable of ambition, hatred, and jealousy; and where there are seeds for those passions in separate interests and pursuits, division is manifest, and no **NOMINAL UNION CAN HOLD OR LAST LONG**. This being the case, and Ireland being separated, its system of complete happiness, which we have supposed, would instantly be disturbed; first, by the internal rivalry of individuals; and next by the external ambition of surrounding nations? The parties of Holland would soon be revived in Ireland, and contending nations make this *separated happy* spot a scene of civil tumult, and personal animosity? What a source of hatred would separation open for Britain? What a source of war with France? What a scene of blood for Ireland? What a gulph of jealousy would commerce form? And in this detached state of Ireland, even those *happy* individuals would soon, through their passions, enable the neighbouring power to profit of their divisions, and make one swallow up the other. Or one of the great neighbouring powers of such a state, favoured by its strength, or sanctioned by its circumstances, would mark it for an object of conquest, and terminate its hatred, its jealousy, or ambition, in its ruin.

The monuments of history have preserved for us the memory of those times, when all Europe, Italy, the Gauls, the Spains, and Germany, were subdivided into a crowd of

small

small states: we know how they finished. England too was portioned out into small states, Ireland into petty monarchies: but they have all submitted to one. Should it however be answered that Venice, and other small states, have maintained themselves long in Europe; the reply is, that it was not the result of their own power, but of the policy and interest of their neighbours. And that very principle, which formed their preservation, would form the destruction of Ireland. The power, policy, and interest of other nations would make it the seat of war and scene of conquest, or the seal of amity by mutual abandonment, and guaranteed insignificance. Such is the result of separation; which is the result of non-incorporation.

On these grounds therefore, an incorporative Union appears a measure of preservation from without and within; and a measure not only of aggrandizement and elevation to the state, but of repose and strength to the empire. It has not for its object a conquest of parties, but a balance of parties; to unite, and not to divide; to govern England by an Irish Parliament, and Ireland by an English Parliament, in as much as each will be governed by the united wisdom of both. All acts will then be the result of the concurrence of the Empire: no misdeeds can then possibly find security in the intrigues of little party: nor any misrule be then founded either by calumny or by truth upon the Parliamentary influence of factions in a single state.

Ireland will no longer have to complain of Viceroys influencing Parliaments, or Parliaments influencing Viceroys. But, that country will have a King and a Parliament, as has been demanded by the voice of discontent, which sought for separation.

And here a new and important consideration opens before us. If any Government, as it has been advanced on the rebellious

bellious side, possesses or admits of faculties sufficient to provoke separation; but does not possess, as it has been stated on the opposite side, sufficient to root rebellion rapidly out; such a Government, every man will allow, is positively bad. But it is relatively worse, if a better can be established. The Government thus complained of by the conflicting parties in Ireland, (for we reason upon their complaints in order to investigate, and lay before them, the remedy) is an executive Viceroy with a Legislative Parliament. And against the influence of which, operating reciprocally as cause and effect, the loudest murmurs have gone forth, and been swelled with every aggravation for the cause of separation. What then must follow?

This Government consists of two parts: to which of these two is a remedy to be applied? Is it to the Viceroy? On account of the natural separation of the two kingdoms, the Executive Government in England cannot immediately discharge its functions in Ireland. These operations must therefore be deputed to second means. The system of Lords Justices has been already tried for this purpose, and was found highly pernicious. The system of Viceroys has been tried, and is found less pernicious. But still there is a bane in Viceroyal Government which, not only according to separatists, but others, has been Parliamentary influence. The executive power, however, must exist in the Viceroy, and the legislative one must exist in the Parliament; and therefore since neither must be destroyed, what is to be done? —There is manifestly no medium left, in order to silence all those complaints, but to dissolve the contact and consequently the reciprocal operation of this influence, by incorporating the Irish with the British Legislature. And thus, according to the circumstances and constitution of the two countries, all the good of the Viceregal Executive

is considerably ameliorated, and all the murmured ~~at~~ evil of Parliamentary influence wisely removed from the organ of separation.

Prejudice alone can be blind to conviction upon the advantage, as well as the necessity of this incorporation. For the whole matter resolves itself into a question of one simple point that every reasonable man can answer. Is it better to have a Viceroy in contact with Parliament as *heretofore* in Ireland, or to have the Monarch co-operating with Parliament, as at present in Britain? Upon this question we believe no man can entertain a doubt. And should it even be asked, may not Parliamentary influence operate from Britain? The best answer is: contemplate its effects in Britain: examine her exalted situation; and then let us weep over the deplorable condition of Ireland.

It appears throughout the history of past ages, that the civil, religious, and political state of that island have been peculiar beyond example. It appears throughout the existing evidence of facts, that the discord of internal interests, and the jarrings of external policy have been by no means harmonised. Rebellion and a desire of separation have been uniformly and throughout time a prominent feature, under Viceroyalty in contact with Parliaments. We do not however attribute this to the Government: the disease is not of the physician's creation, but its continuance may argue incapacity. Besides, it appears that this contact and its consequences have furnished murmurs and pleas for separation. Is it not reasonable then to suppose, that a dissolution of the causes will be followed by a dissolution of the effects; rather than separation should ensue with more certainty, the less the causes for it subsist?

Whether the complaints of parties in Ireland be true or false, there are arguments as clear as existence itself, that

Ireland

Ireland should desire incorporation : that she should gladly embrace the same Legislative Government as England, and prefer its *King, Lords, and Commons*, to a *Viceroy, Lords, and Commons*. Facts are solid and irresistible proofs. Britain offers them in the abundance of its glory, opulence, and prosperity, in favour of Incorporation ; Ireland in the history of its poverty, complaints, and rebellions.

The reasons are numerous and undeniable for Ireland's placing herself under the *immediate* vigilance of her Sovereign and Parliament, rather than remaining as heretofore under a Viceroy. The position of a Viceroy in contact with Parliament differs widely from that of his Sovereign : Because, with respect to Parliament, the Monarch is above all party ; because, with respect to interest, the Viceregent has no hereditary interest, inseparable from the prosperity of the state : because with respect to the states, there must ever be under the existing system a species of rivalry subsisting between the country which he is sent to govern, and the one from which he may be chosen, and wherein all his interests lie. Whereas both are equal to the Sovereign : his interest arises from both ; and his high honours and emoluments are personal, permanent, and entailed upon his posterity. Consequently, with this view, he will watch Parliamentary influence, and find his own interest, and that of his descendants inseparably linked with the interest of each state. Hosts of arguments might be produced upon this head, were it necessary : and all tending to show that when Incorporation places Ireland under such vigilance, there cannot be much dread of separation.

It may also be briefly remarked, that in all Governments whatever, where Legislative influence is connected with temporary executive authority, the effects are pernicious. In confirmation of this, let the Ecclesiastical Government

of Europe be considered for a moment: where the chief has infinitely greater interests at stake on the well-doing of the country, than a deputed ruler can possibly have in Viceroyalty. Yet the influence of such Ecclesiastical Governments marks itself for the traveller's eye in the wretched face of the country, the neglect of agriculture, and the poverty of the subjects. And whence all this? Evidently because the ruler's interest is too little, while the action and reaction of *Influence* between his *Councils* chambers and himself, are too great. His reign, however, closes but with his existence. But were it limited to four or five years instead of being permanent for life, or rather were its duration dependant on the will of another, then with the rapidity of succession the mischiefs of *Influence* would increase. Since therefore, even this Ecclesiastical Government has advantages above Viceroyalty connected with Parliamentary Influence; for, the Ecclesiastical Ruler must, by any immoral exercise of his power, defile the sacred character of his own sovereignty; whereas the Viceroy, under the action and re-action of Parliamentary influence, plays with the awful dignity of another's sceptre; were it not better for the nation, to be placed under the personal vigilance of its Hereditary Monarch immediately co-operating with its Parliament? Were not such a Governmental system far preferable to the one heretofore in use, and less liable to cause a separation between the great Members of the Empire?

Surely, since it appears, through the experience of ages, that Parliament cannot exist in Ireland, without this influence operating under Vice-royal government; and since it appears, that murmurs upon this head have been long and loud; and that in those days it has been the war-whoop for rebellion; and has armed Separatists to drench the land with blood: surely then, if such mischiefs can be barred for ever,

not

not only with safety but with supreme advantage: it were something worse than folly, it were a shameful stupidity to the sufferings of society, and to the future glory of men and things, if they be sacrificed to vain pride or idle prejudice.

There are other motives, no less cogent for the adoption of this measure, in order to guard against separation.—The councils of Ireland either originate or are decided in the British Cabinet. So long as the two kingdoms remain separated, as they are at present, their interests certainly are not identically the same. What then must be the consequence? Partialities or neglects must inevitably appear toward one or the other country, notwithstanding the wisest deliberations and most upright intentions. The plans, therefore, participating of those, are to be submitted for the sanction of Parliament, by a Viceroy enjoying all the patronage of the Crown. What then must be the result? Either the plan does or does not succeed: but, in both cases influence is exerted. If it succeeds, all is anger and animosity on one side, and the old horn of separation may be blown again. If it does not succeed, while the Government is defeated, it is disgraced, if not endangered: for amidst the triumph at the opposite side, separation may not be far from discontent at the attempt. Whereas, if the kingdoms be incorporated, all this rivalry, this partiality, this influence generating party in the Nation, all these attempts creating ill blood between the States, cannot possibly exist. And hence we believe no separation will follow.

Again: suppose there be no partialities whatever in a plan proposed; but that it is a great Imperial measure, consequently, the necessity of unity in the system establishes the necessity of Viceroyal exertion and influence to carry it into execution. If then this influence succeed, and the people without the doors of Parliament be rendered averse by the party of opposition within, or by factious

leaders

leaders amongst themselves, what clamour, misconception and sedition will go forth and invite separation? But suppose, on the contrary, that this influence fails, where an Imperial system required unity; then, not only the Government is endangered by its weakness, but the whole Empire is shocked and convulsed, and the States, perhaps, torn asunder, will present an awful separation.

A view of parties also and of the constitution of those Realms would clearly shew, that they are by no means formed for any other Union, than an incorporative one, without danger of separation. An absolute Monarchy is well calculated for a different connexion, because it is above the re-action of an united State, or the influence of internal party: and, on the same ground, it is better calculated for remote possessions, or extended conquests. Had Britain not been blest with her constitution, America had not been rent from her. And hereon both countries should seriously pause, to consider separation. In absolute Monarchies, one will prescribes, and the same will acts; but no man dares to impeach it. Whereas, in any union of *free States*, (save where the executive and legislative authority of each, and all, are the same,) and in all distant Governments, connected with Free States, are combined the elements of numberless accusations, which supply with food the rage of parties at home. But parties are widely different, with respect to States, *federally* united, and a Free State itself, or an Incorporative Union of Free States. In a Federal Union they are as the thunderbolt, glancing from one part of the horizon to the other, to rend asunder the unions of nature. But in a Free State, or Incorporative Union of Free States, they are like those bodies of vapour, that serve as conductors to electric fire, and which seem to inflame the heavens, but enlighten mankind.

Parties, however, should not be confounded with factions; and, of the latter, Ireland has long been too productive. They have been its bane; but Incorporation is the antidote. And were it only to purge the country of the dangers of this pestilence, it were a sufficient argument, for the adoption of this measure: Because such bodies are always influenced by private, not public ambition: because their leaders would raise themselves upon the management of individuals and the fall of their country: because it is the very spirit of faction to have *division* and *corruption* in the State, and not *union* in the Empire, not integrity in its parts.

The chiefs of such bodies communicate their passions to others: and through the incentives of avarice and ambition increase their factions in society, to disturb the public peace, and rob society. What they could not effectuate individually in a single state, they effectuate collectively. But what they effectuate collectively in a *single* state, they could not effectuate in *an union* of the states. But, since the viceroyal government, constituted as it now is with legislative connexion, has *often* been influenced, and *unable* to resist those factions: since, from such moments, many of the mischiefs of Ireland partly may be dated: and since such factions and their leaders, should any such hereafter arise, must hide their diminished heads before an Imperial senate, consequently, the great cause of *separation* will thus lie vanquished at the feet of Incorporation.

This want of Union, this division between the states and people of Britain and Ireland, have long enabled factions in both nations to bring disgrace upon themselves, and danger upon the Empire from abroad and at home. The same causes

canes must ever produce the same effects, and finally, perhaps, *separation*. But Incorporation blasts it in the very germ.

On these grounds, therefore, it were obviously wise to incorporate the Parliaments. The executive government of Ireland would then assume a new form. When, unincumbered with the business of Parliament and distractions of parties, all its vigilance and attention would be directed to the due execution of the laws ;—and when, no longer exposed to the influence of legislative party, it could no longer be accused of consequent partiality.—Therefore, the present *PLEA and DREAD of SEPARATION* must be dissolved, and the bond of connexion between those realms be drawn closer.

The fifth position is—*That an amelioration of manners may not be expected from an Incorporative Union.*

Violations of moral order have been too long permitted to settle into habitudes in Ireland.—The effects of such conduct in distant times are felt grievously to this day. Britain, however, has not now a Sovereign, who *REFUSES* its *laws, customs, and manners*, to Ireland, as those in remote periods ;* but who has thrown open to it, freedom and commerce ; and now offers a participation of Britain's opulence, stability, and glory :—*His heart is alive to the interests of all his subjects—his bosom is open to receive them in joy or distress—and his arms to protect them.*

Upon the subject of manners, we shall be guided by the evidence of known historical facts ; and, through the experience of ages and countries, we shall seek instructions for the good of Ireland.

At a moment when the public mind had not yet been enlightened by the progress of knowledge, the first Political

Compact

* 2 Edward III. clause 17—Council Book of Ireland, 34 Hen. VIII.

compact took place between England and Ireland. Both countries became consolidated under Henry II. by an imperial and dependent Union. The influence of this Union did not, however, supersede the evils of an uncivilised state; for the Irish were refused the sanction of the British laws, and kept under the bolts and bars of their own barbarous customs. At that moment, they were moulded into a species of moral monster, bereft of all the virtues of a savage state, and corrupted by all the vices of a civil one.

From the period of Henry II. in 1171, to the time of a reformation under JAMES, by Sir John Davies, a space of 440 years intervened; and, from that time to the present, we have a term of 188 years. Now, that all the habits which had been contracted through a space commencing beyond human record or tradition—whose savage shades had been fixed through the succeeding tyranny of the civil state during 440 years; and which had been rendered still more savage, by the addition of new vices and the abolition of old virtues;—that all this accumulation of lawless and tumultuary barbarism, collected and forced upon the natives through unlimited time, could have flowed off in 188 years—we believe no man, who has observed moral operations in society, could well expect. To this must be added, that those 188 years have been attended with peculiar circumstances, which were by no means calculated to eradicate bad moral habits, and give back nature to its genuine and true tone. But, if we remove those circumstances, which have retarded the progress of that moral amelioration brought about by the civil reform, have we not just reason to suppose that a rapid improvement in manners will take place? And such must be the effects of Incorporation:—First, through a radical removal (as we have shewn before) of the discord of the higher parties, which arms the tumultuary

rage and jealousy of the lower ; and next, through an inevitable improvement (as we shall now shew) of that condition of the lower classes, which shapes them, in all countries and ages, into apt tools for rebellion and vice.

If the people be happy, they will be virtuous ; and, if the great be virtuous, they will be happy. There is no maxim in morality more true. The question, then, for the application of this moral truth, is—Are the people of Ireland as happy as they might * or ought to be?—because, if they be not happy, do not expect civil virtue.

Poverty is tolerable, in states of savage equality ; but it is insupportable in the aspect of civil opulence. Privations are indifferent to men, when enjoyments are not known ; but privations become punishments in the centre of surrounding indulgences. Where there is excess of opulence and excess of poverty, social *happiness* must cease, and civil liberty expire.—Eternal objects of envy, even the rich cannot be happy amidst their enjoyments. They arm the miserable with fire and sword against them : and a dangerous immorality ensues. In such cases also, *corruption* creeps by the path of meanness from poverty to opulence. And *corruption* mounts also, with a vicious rapidity, to elevation, by all the means of moral abjection. What, then, must follow such manners ?

Throughout all societies, in order to lay the foundation of civil *VIRTUE*, *social happiness* must be established upon a general diffusion of wealth. We mean by this, that, with regard to the lower orders, they must have decent raiment, comfortable dwellings, wholesome and abundant food. Without these, civilised man is miserable : and misery creates *indolence* ; and both *immorality*. But indolence and immorality must rapidly subside, under trade and commerce spring-

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ing from security. Security will soon bring English skill and capital to Ireland; consequent trade will promote agriculture; and trade, agriculture, and security, fully evince the benefits of Incorporation upon human manners.—It is thus a system will soon develope, wherein we shall no longer see one part of the nation condemned to idleness, another to indigence, and both to misfortune. But we shall behold *activity* diffused throughout the nation, without which there is no happiness; and *energy*, without which there is no virtue. Then the combinations of vice will cease among the aspiring low, and the expedients of baseness among the suffering poor. Force of body or faculties of mind will offer more easy modes of subsistence, honourable pursuits, and greater hopes.

The capital will no longer be a gulph of riches and men. The one and the other will be distributed more equally throughout the provinces. The towns will be less populous; the country more so; and the inhabitants more united and less distressed, will find, in this new situation, peace, *happiness*, and *virtue*.

These principles are not founded upon speculation, but upon facts and experience: we reason not as metaphysicians, we speak from example. History demonstrates that manners are more pure, and happiness more great, in proportion as riches are less unequal amongst the people of all nations. Greece alone furnishes many examples of this truth. Lacedæmon owed, to this circumstance, the preservation of its virtues during ages.

We have further corroboration of the truth of these principles in the example of Rome.—After the expulsion of the Tarquins, an odious and disproportionate inequality remained between the two great orders of the state: had it

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continued, Rome had soon perished, and perhaps its name had not come down to us. But, as this disproportion disappeared, *virtues* came forward, and prepared the Romans for the conquest of the world. However, the plunder of nations brought on an inequality more deadly. The manners became rapidly corrupt, they prepared the ruin of the Republic: they became more corrupt, and the Republic is no more. This is a picture: May it not prove a prophecy? —let France look to it.

But without recurring further to ancient proofs, we have a striking example at home. Behold, Britain! Where is there a more just and general diffusion of wealth—and where is there more *happiness*—where more *virtue*? —What is Britain, in these days of yeomanry?—what was it, in those of *yassalage*?

In such barbarous times throughout Europe, so different from the present, and in no instance more than the following, the men least civilized were the most exalted. For to ignorance they joined brutal valour and brutal manners, and concentrated the vices arising from riches and power. Such an order of men was to be ruined before they were to be civilised. And through commerce and the arts, this barbarism of Europe has been removed. For, when the Indies flung its wealth into the lap of Europe, such men became more luxurious, more distressed, more submissive; their sovereigns more free; and the people less oppressed. The whole mass of manners has been changed by commerce. Its activity has given new life to men, since fortunes depend less upon titles than upon industry: for the man of nothing, who has talents, elevates himself, while the great man, who has them not, tumbles.

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Kings from slavery ; and people from oppression : and thus in all countries, commerce brings in riches ; riches produce luxury ; luxury puts down the high and exalts the low. Thus vice is punished, if not checked above ; and virtue and industry encouraged below. It is the universal system whereby manners have been ameliorated : the proofs are before us.

But if luxury pass into a country throughout any other medium than that of commerce, the same effects will not follow. We are informed by history, that commerce had enriched some towns of Italy, and introduced luxury. The Popes introduced this luxury into France : and their legates left it in all the courts : but commerce was not in the train. What was the consequence ? This luxury rendered the people more polished, but not more civilized, not more politically moralized.

A nation becomes civilized in proportion as it quits the manners, which marked its barbarous state. It becomes politically moralised, as it obeys the laws that oppose disorder, and form an habitude of social virtues. And it becomes polished, when it piques itself on its elegance in thought or action. Thus, for example, the Greeks were civilised before the times of Solon or Lycurgus : they were politically moralised during the ages of these two Legislators ; and they were polished during that of Pericles. In modern times, the French amidst their luxury were polished : the English with luxury on one side, and commerce on the other, stand between and enjoy polish and political morality : whereas the Irish are in the extremes. The one class is not yet politically moralised, for it has not contracted the social virtues ; nor can it contract them until it is happy in the comforts of the social state. But the other class is arrived

arrived at the state of polish and luxury. If however atticism and urbanity marked the decline of Greeks and Romans, what may be the result to day, where polished luxury is at war with civil misery? That which is not expected: virtue and happiness will arise from this state. For, commerce will advance the one class, and bring back the other to that point of political morality, where *happiness* will secure *virtue* amongst the people, and *virtue* insure *happiness* amongst the great. And thus will Incorporation assimilate Ireland to England, and ameliorate the manners of the former. For, even the state of vassalage was put down in the latter by commerce, and the nation advanced to its present point of polish and political morality.

It should be remarked too, that this measure of Incorporation wisely combining the two great principles of Legislation and Government, unfolds in one act the *policy of nature*, and the *policy of the passions*. It proceeds upon the physical relations of the two countries, as to position and advantages, and it consults the moral cast of society, or the manners and moral effects of natural and civil causes. Must it not therefore, clearly and inevitably, under the operations of such true principles, harmonize *all jarrings, external and internal*? And through such effects *must* not *VIRTUE* be diffused throughout the nation? We shall not then behold, what is the greatest *VICE* under Government, men living no longer under the empire of the laws. This is surely therefore a measure of sound policy: Sound policy is found morality: and that found morality will not ameliorate manners, is an unwarranted assertion. From the chaos of rebellion thus a great nation may arise, secure under *HAPPINESS*, and growing amidst its *VIRTUES*.

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The Catholics will no doubt wisely balance what they wish to gain, and what they have to lose by Incorporation. First, their great object is the acquisition of Legislative Power—but that power were more attainable in a British Parliament than in an Irish one, for the constitutional impediments are equal in both countries, but the prejudices and apprehensions must be less in the former. Beside, if they were at present to acquire emancipation in Ireland; it were a tantalizing boon which they could not enjoy. Nine tenths of the landed property being in the possession of Protestants, it must ensure no small sway in county elections, which will be used with double exertions, to keep Catholics out of an Irish Parliament. And as to Boroughs, they were formed expressly to exclude Catholics from Parliament; so that the whole frame of the Legislature must be broken up, and the whole constitution must be changed and altered, before they can taste emancipation, were it even granted to them. After this they will consider what enjoyments, the maxims of statesmen on tolerated sects, might move and sanction others to take back, if not secured by Incorporation. When the Catholics were in the proportion of forty to one Protestant, their restraints were very severe. They are now as three to one; but this universal maxim of policy, with respect to sects, which is followed over the globe, even where they are weak, has been relaxed in Ireland, beyond example, where they are still strong. These are surely civil blessings; and of which indeed some of the most wise and virtuous men of that body seem truly sensible. Unhappily however, under the sanction of names and some popular principles in politics and religion, the sense and piety of others have been cruelly deluded by bad men. Miserable impostors! What have they done? They have let loose upon fallen Catholics, upon mild and simple cultivators of the land,

land, the monster Fanaticism which drinks the blood of mankind. They have blooded the sun of their rising liberties with an horrid war. Why did they prompt the Catholics to take up arms? Was it for religion? Their religion was not attacked: their temples are still open; even a college has been founded by the Government for the education of their clergy, and the instruction of their youth. Was it for their liberty? Never did they enjoy so much. And in no nation under heaven does a sect differing from that established by the policy of the state, enjoy such a portion. The Catholics then will wisely secure these blessings. And as to the vanity of ambition and all its empty acquisitions, where laws and freedom are equal, surely there is a much more solid and endearing power over mankind, through the influence of an happy superiority arising from the virtues, the opulence, the industry of commerce. Riches and beneficence are far beyond the glare of office, or the thorny pillow of station. We speak to the understandings of men, and not to their passions.

Through the effects of the supposed Union we conceive that *all professions* must reap considerable advantage. For as the prosperity of Ireland will then keep pace with the prosperity of the empire, and as the prosperity of the empire must be indisputably increased by this Incorporation, consequently by Incorporation Ireland must acquire aggrandizement and elevation. And as the population, commerce, and agriculture of Ireland increase, so must necessarily the *objects* of all professions; and likewise the *remunerations* of science and the arts be proportionately augmented.

Upon this ground, professional men may entertain wide and solid expectations, for there is an extensive and obvious latitude for improvement in Ireland. If we calculate upon what that nation *is*, and what she *was*, we may see what she

may

The Catholics will no doubt wisely balance what they wish to gain, and what they have to lose by Incorporation. First, their great object is the acquisition of Legislative Power—but that power were more attainable in a British Parliament than in an Irish one, for the constitutional impediments are equal in both countries, but the prejudices and apprehensions must be less in the former. Beside, if they were at present to acquire emancipation in Ireland, it were a tantalizing boon which they could not enjoy. Nine tenths of the landed property being in the possession of Protestants, it must ensure no small sway in county elections, which will be used with double exertions, to keep Catholics out of an Irish Parliament. And as to Boroughs, they were formed expressly to exclude Catholics from Parliament; so that the whole frame of the Legislature must be broken up, and the whole constitution must be changed and altered, before they can taste emancipation, were it even granted to them. After this they will consider what enjoyments, the maxims of statesmen on tolerated sects, might move and sanction others to take back, if not secured by Incorporation. When the Catholics were in the proportion of forty to one Protestant, their restraints were very severe. They are now as three to one; but this universal maxim of policy, with respect to sects, which is followed over the globe, even where they are weak, has been relaxed in Ireland, beyond example, where they are still strong. These are surely civil blessings; and of which indeed some of the most wise and virtuous men of that body seem truly sensible. Unhappily however, under the sanction of names and some popular principles in politics and religion, the sense and piety of others have been cruelly deluded by bad men. Miserable impostors! What have they done? They have let loose upon fallen Catholics, upon mild and simple cultivators of the

land,

land, the monster Fanaticism which drinks the blood of mankind. They have blooded the sun of their rising liberties with an horrid war. Why did they prompt the Catholics to take up arms? Was it for religion? Their religion was not attacked: their temples are still open; even a college has been founded by the Government for the education of their clergy, and the instruction of their youth. Was it for their liberty? Never did they enjoy so much. And in no nation under heaven does a sect differing from that established by the policy of the state, enjoy such a portion. The Catholics then will wisely secure these blessings. And as to the vanity of ambition and all its empty acquisitions, where laws and freedom are equal, surely there is a much more solid and endearing power over mankind, through the influence of an happy superiority arising from the virtues, the opulence, the industry of commerce. Riches and beneficence are far beyond the glare of office, or the thorny pillow of station. We speak to the understandings of men, and not to their passions.

Through the effects of the supposed Union we conceive that *all professions* must reap considerable advantage. For as the prosperity of Ireland will then keep pace with the prosperity of the empire, and as the prosperity of the empire must be indisputably increased by this Incorporation, consequently by Incorporation Ireland must acquire aggrandizement and elevation. And as the population, commerce, and agriculture of Ireland increase, so must necessarily the *objects* of all professions; and likewise the *remunerations* of science and the arts be proportionately augmented.

Upon this ground, professional men may entertain wide and solid expectations, for there is an extensive and obvious latitude for improvement in Ireland. If we calculate upon what that nation *is*, and what she *was*, we may see what she *may*

may be, and consequently what men have to expect.—First, then with respect to what she is, and the latitude for future improvement ; there are many and great deficiencies in a civil, religious and commercial view ; which are highly impolitic, and indeed disgraceful in so great an empire, and in so enlightened an age. Is a continued chain of sanguinary rebellions, a proof of civilisation ? Is such a state of agriculture, is one solitary manufacture, is poverty and complaint a proof of enlightened policy ? Is the most abject superstition, is the most sanguine bigotry, a proof of sound or true morality ? Is the commerce of the country compared with its extraordinary capacities, a proof of civil economy ? Let men dispassionately consider, if they would have Ireland remain thus ? But she cannot remain thus : she must descend by Separation, or ascend by Incorporation. And what that ascent or what Ireland *may be*, will be best calculated on a retrospective glance at what *she was*. In the beginning of this century her balance of commerce with the *whole world* was about four hundred thousand pounds per annum : and now her commerce with *Great Britain alone* is about ten fold that sum. The question then is, whence the enormous increase which she has experienced within those few years ? Because Britain before that period turned her back upon Ireland, and her face toward America, and she was lost in her shadow : but then turning with a partial influence toward Ireland, that country has rapidly grown under the warmth of her splendor and protection. Now she would embosom her in her glory, and what must be the effects ? Will men embrace them by Incorporation, or reject them and separate ?

The world is now entering upon a new epoch of things. New views and new relations, political and commercial, must arise between states, from the coincidences of those times. A strange variation marks this awful period, and

renders uncertain the pending issue of affairs. It will therefore be at least wise in every branch of the British Empire, to coalesce and consolidate her energies, that she may meet this moment of trial with a commanding aspect.

It is no inconsiderable maxim in policy that Governments watch over the inclinations of their own subjects, and consult the genius and tendency of other nations. They should hearken attentively to the times, observing the bias of men and season of things. These are Counsellors, whose voice speaks aloud to all parties, and should be the guide of all men. Tutored by them, they will remark, that in bodies politic as well as natural, diseases may be death, or may prove remedies. The days of Cromwell were a political fever, when many vitiated humours were thrown off: Every disorder of the constitution became *notorious*, and the remedies were *understood*.

To day both disorder and remedy are manifest in Ireland. Separated, however, as she is, the thunderbolt has often fallen, and its voice was not heard: but united, it must be heard, it will be felt in Britain. The whole system of things will be changed; the operations will be different, the wheels different, and the moving force better proportioned to the resisting power. In a more numerous* Senate there will be an acquisition of wisdom. And the legislatures of the three nations will thus become the heart of the Empire, to diffuse vigour throughout the whole, by their sound and wholesome laws: or these laws must return corrupted and destructive to that source, whence they first originated. It will, therefore, be no longer the rash or unwise experiment of one nation, reposing for a prop on

the

* It may pass for a maxim in States, that *the administration cannot be placed in too few bands, nor the Legislature in too many.*

the other in case of failure. For the fate of one and all will be at issue, and the wisdom of the whole will, at least, be cautious.

“ *Quo res cunque cadent, unum et commune periculum,*

“ *Una salus ambobus erit.*”

VIRO.

Thus then, with an anxious desire for the real good of the Irish nation, and for the splendor and invigoration of the Empire at large, we have placed before men their public condition, that they may think wisely and act justly. It were more than imprudent, at this day, to harmonise parties to an accordance, which was not founded upon the unalterable scale of truth. But wisely, honestly, and openly brought into unison, and to embrace an Incorporation, they will soon fall to the earth the monster Rebellion. Proud are we to say, that we do not stand single upon the meditated ruins of bad systems. And we doubt not that one heart will animate and one mind pervade men, when they shall have seriously and dispassionately reconsidered those *injuries* and *losses, gains and benefits*, which have been or may be attributed to this Incorporative Union.

INJURIES.

The first injuries are those urged at a meeting of the gentlemen of the Irish bar—

1. “ *That the poverty of Ireland cannot bear the weight of taxes, which the riches of England sustain with ease and comfort.*” — This has been clearly confuted.

2. “ *That in the United Parliaments, in all cases of competition, Ireland must suffer.*” — It has been undeniably proved that this cannot be the case.

3. “ *That this Union tends ultimately to separation.*” — The reverse shewn: for, **WITHOUT INCORPORATION, SEPARATION** must follow.

4. “ *That*

4. "That Amelioration of manners will not result from this Union, but perhaps the contrary." Facts, analogy, and the experience of ages, overturn this position.

The next Injury which has been attributed to this measure by other gentlemen, has appeared in the following shape:

5. "Should the Protestant gentlemen, whose services stemmed the torrent of rebellion, and saved the nation to the Empire, be removed?" The answer is, the *causes* of rebellion are to be removed, and the nation saved effectually to itself. Beside, how few of these gentlemen will be removed?

LOSSES.

6. The losses of money to the capital, by the sums spent in England by those attending on Parliament. First, The number will be inconsiderable: second, if through this number a loss were to be sustained, it would be much more than counterbalanced by the civil effects: third, in reality, no such loss can be felt from the overbalancing *increase* of commerce: and fourth, such an apparent loss were a real gain to the capital in views of trade and manufacture.

7. A formidable one, according to the spirit of rivalry, appears in the diminution of representation. Some have said, that the dignity and consequence of Ireland would be lowered, by the reduction of its members. It is tolerably obvious that Ireland must be exalted in wealth and power, by this scheme. Beside, in fact, is representation a just scale of political dignity? If so, how superior in civil importance is the pot-house of old Sarum to the great and populous towns of Birmingham and Manchester together? Also, since Yorkshire sends thirty members to Parliament, and London but four, then London must, indeed, be very inconsiderable as to its importance; and, its comparative consequence

consequence toward York is, according to this measure, exactly double that of the beer-house at Old Sarum, which sends two members to the Senate.

8. The next loss, which is urged, is one that will prove a gain beyond calculation. Flaming PATRIOTS, as they *would* be thought, have called the Union an *act*, whereby a youthful and rising body is coupled to one old in decay and tumbling into dissolution. Now, in truth, the fact is, that it is joining the Irish nation, old in disorder and feeble in itself, through those disorders, to one that is vigorous and virtuous. It is the Union of a child, or rather a pigmy, to a giant, in strength, commerce and freedom, for mutual support. For since the positive or relative power of nations is estimated by size, population and wealth; what is Ireland in all those three, toward the whole of the British empire beside? What is her opulence or power compared to the sources of both in the commerce of Britain alone, and in that navy which is the broad shield of the universe? If the taxable income, as stated by Mr. Pitt, and we apprehend that it is understated through discretion, amounts, after deducting the one million of Ireland, to *101 millions* annually, it is not a difficult matter for Ireland to calculate upon such *data* the relative capital of both countries. When the relative capital is ascertained, then let her ask herself, whether it were wise or not to join in such a firm as that of Britain for commerce, and whether it were well to join with such a free and powerful nation, for an equality in both?

GAINS.

Let us now view the *gains* resulting from Incorporation.

9. The civil system improved, in property; in public and private condition; and in political situation.

10. The religious or ecclesiastical system: by the revival of moral obedience, and respect to its authority, which have

have too long been and must ever be lost in civil discords and fanatic rebellions, that undermine the throne and the altar: improved also in the security of its possessions and establishments. Query—Should not the Catholic establishment be taken under the patronage and protection of Government; and the clergy of this body and of the Dissenters have their support from the Crown?

11. Commercial system, under security and tranquillity, must be improved in skill, capital, and extent, beyond the possibility of calculation.

BENEFITS.

Lastly, let us view some few of the *benefits*.

12. The nation will be freed from the characteristic and immoral impulsion given to the people, by civil circumstances, down through ages, and under the Imperial Union.

13. It will be freed from the political and ambitious impulsion given to other orders, under the Federal Union.

14. It will be freed from the effects of that awful impulsion, given to many, by the civil pestilence of the times.

15. It will be freed from distresses, which have been *long* existing, according to the testimony of the servants and friends of Government.

It will be freed from distresses which have been aggravated, for the purposes of rebellion, by the enemies of Government.

It will be freed from distresses which are attested by the ablest politicians of Europe, men no way connected with Ireland, but by their knowledge and virtues, with which they have laboured for the good of the Empire, and have been crowned with the applauses of the universe.

For

For these great and valuable purposes, and upon the grounds and reasons before mentioned, we are the advocates of an Incorporative Union. To raise up such a *system* of happiness and virtue upon the ruin of bad ones, and not to accommodate errors, but eradicate evils, our phalanx is some of the ablest, the wisest, and the best men of both nations.

All other party we disclaim: Little distinction is lost in our view. In the comprehensive sound of Empire, our mind embraces but an unison of nations: in that of nations it awakens but a thought of mankind. Judges, before whose tribunal we bow, your happiness is our object. If our zeal be excessive, we submit to your reproach: But, as the friend of Ireland, we would drive from the cradle of its infant greatness, the monsters that menace its existence and repose. Tarquins may condemn us, but no Brutus will accuse us.

F I N I S.



THE
POLITICAL,
COMMERCIAL, AND CIVIL,
STATE OF IRELAND.

BY THE REV. DR. CLARKE,
SECRETARY FOR THE LIBRARY AND CHAPLAIN TO
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE OF WALES.

BEING
AN APPENDIX
TO
“UNION OR SEPARATION.”

[The attention of the House of Lords was called by the *Marquis of Lansdowne*, to “ Union or Separation,” as “ containing more sound sense, more knowledge, “ and more experience of the world, than volumes “ which had been written on the subject.”]

DUBLIN:

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1799.

THE
POLITICAL,
COMMERCIAL, AND CIVIL,
STATE OF IRELAND.

WE should cautiously guard against the condemnation of a great and important measure, before we have examined it in all its bearings, with the sound and deliberate exercise of unprejudiced reason. For, however sublime the range of genius may be, or however high the cast of authority, they should not be admitted with assertions as arguments, nor unsupported opinions as proofs. — We should try them by the unerring touchstone of facts and common sense. Genius may dazzle, but not elucidate; and authority may impose, if not err—it often does so. But facts cannot mislead, common sense cannot deceive. And, if by these two guides the people be suffered to judge for themselves, we are convinced they will judge justly.

Having thus exercised their understanding fully and fairly, if they find an Union pernicious to the welfare of Ireland, then, in the name of common sense, let them reject and oppose it to the last extremity. But, if on the contrary, they perceive, that it is the only hand which pours oil into the

wounds of their bleeding country, and binds them up for ever; if it be the only means to heal *particular* grievances, and to promote *general* welfare, let them in God's name embrace it. And judging of it, let them coolly and dispassionately direct their views to the *whole* interest of Ireland, which must, unavoidably include their own *particular* welfare; let them also consider well the state of Ireland to day: the state of the Empire and of Europe, the cast of the times, and the awful condition of the civilized and bleeding world, —and then they will judge justly.

On a subject so comprehensive, should any arguments be advanced, which have been more ably enforced before, we trust we shall be excused: at the close of a long discussion, perhaps, it is not unpardonable, as it is not unwise, to refresh the memory of conviction.

One ground, however, remains yet untrodden—it is that of commerce. And on *this important ground* we hold it our duty, so far as full and authentic documents enable us, to instruct our fellow subjects in Ireland, and to warn them with anxious concern as they value their country, and almost their existence as a nation, to think wisely, and act justly.—For this purpose we shall lay before them a body of evidence on Commerce, which is incontrovertible by the highest, and we doubt not, will prove conclusive to the meanest capacity, on the subject of an Union.

It has, however, been asserted, that though the wisdom and expediency of an Union were manifest, it is not lawful. Now, in the very assertion, there is a plain contradiction to the point advanced. The essence of all power and all law is *necessity*: which necessity is in other words an imperious principle, called the *good of Society*. Whatever, therefore, is wise and expedient, contains that eternal principle, and is the essential basis of all laws whatever, whether they be *fundamental laws* or *laws of regulation*.

But,

But, without dragging an heavy load for contest, we shall, like David when he would not encumber himself with the weighty armour of Saul, enter the conflict in a different manner. We assert, therefore, that the Parliament is fully competent to enact an Union: and our authority is—that of Coke, Hale, Blackstone, the great and honest Lord Somers, and the four present Chief Judges of Ireland. And who can be more personally affected *against* an Union, from their official situation, than the last named authorities: and what authority stands higher for discernment, than that of Lord Clare; what one more pure or exalted, than that of Lord Carleton;—more able than that of Lord Yelverton;—or more profound than that of Lord Kilwarden?—Beside, if the Parliament of Ireland be not competent to this act, then the great and essential powers of Parliament are blasted, and its best authority is no more. What is the Catholic Bill reduced to by this argument?

—A public infringement on the rights of individuals. What the proposed reform?—An unlawful abrogation of corporative franchises. What the repeal of the *Declaratory Act*, of the 6th of *George I.*? A nullity—an act of usurpation; and the Parliament of Ireland is still bound by English laws.—But we need no stronger test of the invalidity of an opinion, than the absurdity of its consequences. Beside, if the *Prerogative* of the *Crown*, the *Privileges* of the *People*, and the *Constitution* of *Parliament*, be not subject to its control, how, in the name of common sense, did we, the subjects of the King of Great Britain, attain the invaluable blessings of that *Constitution* we enjoy so eminently above other nations? Such crude assertions really deserve no answer. For if *Parliament* had not this competency, we had been stationary in bondage, like the other slaves of Europe. But, thank God, every thing is within the power of the *Parliaments* of these realms, which is for

the good of their respective nations, and Parliament has no other fundamental law nor limitation.

The question then is, whether the proposed Union be for the *good* of the *Irish nation*, or not?

As this question includes the benefits derivable by the people of Ireland, from her *present* system, and those from an *incorporative* Union, we shall, in order to bring the matter to a clear issue, consider the present Political, Commercial, and Civil state of Ireland. And under these three general heads abundant proofs will concur, to enable us to decide accurately and fully which of the two systems, the *present* or the *proposed* one, ought to prevail, with a view to the good of the people.—Unfortunately, the happiness of the people of Ireland, is according to the opinions of many, found wanting in the balance of present good. If so, humanity, however, weeps over the folly of pride, and sometimes pardons the weakness and ambition—but can the mean dread of losing authority blind particular men to the common utility of their nation—do not its wounds cry unto them,—or can they be deaf to an awful sentiment of their own individual condition? The great voice of nature surely cannot be drowned, in these times, in silly prejudice or calamitous error.

POLITICAL STATE.

The political state of a country may be considered internally and externally. The internal state includes its government and powers; the external state its relations, in point of enmity or friendship, with other nations. In those two views let us consider Ireland.

First: As to the government of Ireland, the policy of its arrangements in 1782, marks the imperfection of its practical

tical powers; and that skill which so nobly attempted to cure political complaints, introduced but new disorders. For from the great object of that arrangement, which was independency, arose the idea of distinctness, and through this distinctness between the two bodies of the Empire, as well as the two bodies of the Irish nation, the contagious poison of the times has infused that of separation. And against this deadly consequence to all parties there is no antidote, nor resource left, but an incorporative Union.

Here however independency rises against the proposition, pleading with all the force of honourable pride. To this manly principle, therefore, we bow and answer, that Irish independency does not, can not exist, save under an incorporative Union. If it did *really* exist, what must follow? Ultimately and unavoidably a separation of the two kingdoms, through jealousy and variance: If Ireland be *nominally* independent, the separation is so much the more inevitable, when one Parliament in the most powerful kingdom, is *really* independent, and the other in the weak kingdom is *practically* subservient.—That this is the case, every law of Ireland announces under the *great seal of Britain*: which is a record of the dependency of its connexion, and an attestation of the inferiority of its state. Remove that inferiority, and separation ensues: embrace equality, and the Union may be immortal.

The Parliament of Ireland is *ipso facto*, in a dependent state, as we have shewn before: the Crown of Ireland is by law dependent on that of Great Britain, and the commerce of Ireland, is by necessity; and it must with gratitude be acknowledged as a favour that it is permitted to be dependent upon the bounty of the British Parliament: as we shall incontrovertibly shew hereafter.

Thus then we see that the Union removes at once all these dependencies, and makes Ireland completely independent and equal to Great Britain. She will then become politically

litically free, whereas her government and powers are now politically dependent.

Next : with respect to its Political Relations, that with Britain is a dependent one, not only in Crown and Commerce, and under the seal of its laws, but under the shield of its protection : and that with other nations, is but through absolute dependence. For it wears again this badge in the signs and seals of all treaties, and diplomatic arrangements, entered into by Great Britain with other Powers. And if it be not thus included, and dependently connected, it has neither political relation, nor rank amongst treating nations.

Were she not thus dependently connected with Great Britain, what must be the obvious result ? It is remarked by Machiavel, that war should be the only study of States, and says Hobbes, war is the state of nature. These two men demonstrate to us the melancholy history of Political Societies. The leagues of nations are confederacies of interest ; that interest originates and ends in views of power. What then is the power of Ireland ? where is her portion, to secure friendship by leagues, or repel enmity by arms, were she independent ? This want of power must, necessarily and ever, make her dependent in the wildest schemes of fancied independency, either to become wholly unconnected, or remain connected as at present by a federal Union. The proofs are evidently before her. But had she ample power for independence, would the proposition of Union now exist ? Most indubitably not : she had long since been independent. But her diminutive strength and relative position on the globe deny this independence, therefore, she can only be conjunctively independent ; and through no other conjunction, that all the wit of man can devise, can she be independent, than through an incorporative one. We defy the most profound judgment, or sharpest ingenuity, to point out any other mode, whereby Ireland can be in reality and practically independent, than through an Uni-

on of the Legislatures. She has neither population, territories, revenues, nor commerce, to be separately independent ; but, by incorporation and identity with Great Britain, she acquires all these : and, therefore by Union, and with Great Britain alone, can she, or will she ever be independent.

As to Union with France, it is Union with despotism and robbery. That murdering nation has twice renewed her vast armies, which have been swept off the face of the polluted earth. She has twice publicly robbed her own subjects, giving them for their plundered property, paper of no value, under the name of Assignats and Mandats.—She has, unceasingly and without distinction, since the revolution, stripped her people, after she had robbed her throne and sacked her altars. Not glutted with the slaughter of above two millions of her unhappy subjects, she plucked the sword from the bowels of her own people, to plunge it into the bosom of foreign nations. She has vexed both elements : the earth and the sea bear witness against her havock of the human species : and Heaven itself had not bounds for her crimes—she has insulted the Majesty of the Creator upon his throne.

The whole globe was unequal to her horrors : even one small portion of it has been plundered by her rapacity of 1,691,757,354 l. sterl. [see table A.] And we believe it might with great truth be asserted, that tigers and wolves have not collectively committed such havoc upon their respective species since the creation, as the French upon their own, since the revolution. Now that these men should with such qualifications set up to be legislators of the world, is somewhat strange. But it is more strange, that Ireland or any other nation, in its senses, should unite with them. For have they not punished virtue with chains, banishment, and death ? do they not regard their *own people* as an herd of cattle, to be butchered for their purposes ? have they not treated

treated the people of other nations in the same manner, or sold and transferred them as beasts to other masters? It was the case in Venice: Have they not destroyed old and free republics to convert them into new, and load them with chains and oppressions? It is the case in Switzerland. Will Ireland then unite with them to become independent and a republic, that is, to bleed under their chains, guillotines, and tortures? or will she unite with Great Britain, to become as free as Britain in her *Crown and commerce, in her Parliament and political Relations*; to become as powerful as Great Britain herself, and, we trust, a joint instrument of Heaven to stay the scourge of humanity?

COMMERCIAL STATE.

Let us now consider, what is the nature and extent of the commercial advantages of Ireland under her present system, and what are those derivable from the proposed system of an Union?

Here we shall fully and fairly see, upon the plain and unequivocal evidence of figures, whether the opinion of all those who oppose an Union on the *ground of trade*, is sound or not, and if their testimony be as true and disinterested as they pretend.

Since the commerce of Ireland depends on British connexion, as will obviously be shown, it is reasonable to ask what is this connexion? It is one which subsists through the Sovereign of both countries being the same. But it is asserted by Ireland, that the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, in all their functions, legislative and political, are distinct and separate from those of Great Britain. Consequently, whatever is distinct, separate, and independent of each other, must indisputably be without contact, and of course

course without * connexion. Where, then, is the basis for Irish commerce? where the cement to preserve from dissolution this system of British concession?

It is true, an Act of Parliament has fixed the Crown of Ireland on the brow of a British King; but as that King and his Parliament of Ireland are separate and distinct in all functions of authority from those of England, this Act of Parliament does not invalidate the consequences resulting from their being distinct, separate, and independent of each other; namely, that they are indisputably without contact, and of course—without connexion. Beside, what one Act of Parliament has done, another Act of Parliament can undo. We see nothing but confusion here; yet this is the connexion upon which the commercial existence of Ireland depends: this is the state of separation upon which British courtesy and British concession stand;—and of what value and extent these concessions are, in the common commercial calculations of loss and gain, between the two nations, let us now inquire.

Such

* The fallacy of the present relation between Great Britain and Ireland, has been most fully and ably discussed by Lord Grenville, under every possible relation of State, Church, Finance, Army, &c. whereby his Lordship made it appear, that there was really *No Connexion* between the two countries.

Irish Commerce with Great Britain.

(The following statements are founded upon the Public Accounts laid before the House of Lords, 25th of February, 1799, by Thomas Irving, Esq; Inspector General of the Revenue.)

1799.

On an average of four years preceding the 5th of January, 1799, the annual IMPORTS from IRELAND into Great Britain amounted to

£. s. d.

2,811,383 5 5

On

On an average of the same period the British and Foreign exports to Ireland amounted to	2,733,870 16 2
On an average of three years (the last year, 1798, not being yet made out in the account given in), the imports from the world amounted to	16,734,541 11 7
On an average of four years preceding the 5th of January, 1799, the exports to the world	30,053,664 17 10
Observe that the above values are computed agreeably to the ancient estimates in the Inspector General's Office, which estimates are upon an average about 70 per cent. beneath the real and present value of the articles.	

Such is the comparative commerce of Great Britain with Ireland, on a fair average of four years, and of the commerce of Great Britain with the world.—We shall now take another view of it under those two heads during the last year, whereby the advantages, and disadvantages will appear beyond the power of contradiction in the self-evidence of figures.

The TOTAL imports of 1798 into Great Britain not being yet made out, we shall take the value of the preceding year,	
1797	£. 21,013,956
Total exports, 1798,	£. 33,655,396
Whole trade with the world,	£. 54,669,352

Imports from Ireland into Great Britain during 1798, :	£. 2,734,362
Exports during do. to Ireland	
British manufactures	£. 1,676,648
Foreign merchandize,	£. 1,316,218
Whole trade with Ireland,	£. 5,727,229
Valued according to the ancient rates; or about 70 per cent. beneath the present value.	

Thus we see clearly what is the value of the Irish commerce, and what is the value of the whole commerce of Great Britain. It now remains to consider the Revenues arising

arising to Great Britain from these respective sources of commerce.

By the Inspector General's account, it appears that the amount of the revenue of customs collected from that part of the trade of Great Britain carried on with Ireland, was in the year ending the 5th January, 1799, —47,542*l.* The amount of the revenue of customs, collected from the total trade of Great Britain 6,899,835*l.*

Hence therefore it is obvious and incontrovertible, that, while Ireland enjoys more than a ninth part of the commerce of Great Britain, that commerce, which it might be supposed would contribute a proportionate (that is a ninth) part to the revenues, does not contribute an hundred and forty-fifth part.

Consequently, by comparing the British commerce with Ireland, and with other nations, and by comparing the customs paid respectively by them to Great Britain for that commerce, it appears obviously, and beyond the possibility of doubt, that Ireland has an advantage over other nations as 145 to nine; a superiority unexampled in all the systems of jealous commerce since time began. For Britain loses so much in her revenues; she has sacrificed so much to foster and favour Ireland; to elevate her near herself in commercial rank, and now she would unite her in her unparalleled greatness. She has not only sacrificed a sixteen-fold loss in her public revenues, which she might have gained by the same trade with other countries; but, in the view of commercial purchase and individual calculation, she pays 25 per cent. more to Ireland for those articles, than she might procure the same for from other nations. Therefore, the balance of the account stands thus:—the public revenue of Great Britain sustains a loss in the trade of Ireland, on the comparative proportion of its commerce, as 145 to 9; that is, she receives an hundredth forty-fifth part, where a ninth part is the proportion; or, to make it still

more

more clear, she receives about one thousand out of every sixteen thousand that might be expected. Further, this is not merely so much gain to Ireland, but a source of *incalculable gain* through its *results*, on her productive labours. —It goes however further: the *private consumer* in Britain pays 25 per cent. more to Ireland than he need pay, were the same articles for his consumption taken from other nations, and which form the *chief* and almost entire trade of that country. What then is the additional result of this gain throughout its effects on the industry of Ireland?

But the advantages of British commerce to Ireland go still further.

On an average of the three last years, the annual imports of the *products* and *manufactures* of Ireland into Great Britain, amounted to 5,510,825*l.* whereas on a like average, the exports of the *products* and *manufactures* of Great Britain, amounted to but 2,087,672*l.* Here then is a balance of 3,425,153*l.* in favour of Ireland, operating upon the great system of national industry.

But the advantages of British commerce to Ireland go still further.

British protection and connexion have opened to Ireland new channels for her manufactures; in return for which she imports foreign articles, and then exports these foreign articles to Britain. On an average of the three last years, she has supplied Britain with foreign commodities to the annual amount of 101,864*l.* and in return for those she has taken from Britain, articles of the nature of raw materials, which are the elements of internal industry in Ireland to the amount of 447,477*l.*

But the advantages of British commerce to Ireland go still further. We may, however, be interrupted and asked —Does not Ireland take, beside these *raw materials*, (which she cannot get elsewhere) the woollen and cotton manufactures of Great Britain? Granted: but it is a feather in the balance

balance of her trade. Let us see what is the relative proportion of these branches, without comparing them with the whole of her other trade ?

Total value of woollen manufactures exported in one year, preceding the 5th of January, 1799, - £. 6,836,603
 Ditto to Ireland, - - - - - £. 580,723

Thus then without heeding fractions, we may say that there is but a *twelfth* part of her woollen manufactures exported to Ireland. Now let us see the value of the cottons :

The *Total Export* of cottons during one year preceding the 5th January, 1799, amounted to - £. 3,497,197
 Ditto to Ireland - - - - - £. 107,293

Thus then the exports to Ireland are about a thirty-second part of the whole. And what has been given for those by Ireland ? her native products, and the manufactures of her industry. Beside, where else than in Great Britain could those articles of woollen and cotton have been procured, of so good a quality, and at so cheap a rate ? Nowhere on the globe. Whereas the linens taken in return for them could have been procured at a much more moderate rate, from various countries. What proportion, too, does the value of these two branches of woollen and cotton bear to the value of Irish linens ? So little (as will appear hereafter) that Ireland takes further from Britain, in order to make up the balance, and as stated by the present Speaker of the House of Commons of Ireland, " Salt for fisheries and provisions ; hops, which she *cannot grow* ; coals, which she *cannot raise* ; tin, which she *has not* ; and bark which she *cannot get elsewhere* ; and all these without reserving *any* duty, or a power to impose any on them, though her own subjects pay two, three, or four shillings a *chaldron* for coals,

sent

sent coastways, and in London ten shillings." (Mr. Foster's speech—Woodfall's report, p. 110). Such is the present Speaker's statement of the trade. And as to the foreign produce which she takes from Great Britain, the *whole* during one year ending the 5th January, 1799, amounts to 1,412,504*l.* according to the *real* value, and which she could not possibly procure from any other market at so moderate a rate. This will be perceived when it is stated that four of these articles are tea, muslins, pepper, sugar, and amount to about 900,000*l.* of the foregoing sum. But it should not be lost sight of, and therefore it may be repeated, that all these articles were not only procured in Great Britain cheaper than elsewhere; but were also taken in return to balance the extensive exports of Irish products and manufactures. But the advantage of the British commerce to Ireland goes still further.

It is of such importance, that in Mr. Foster's words (p. 109) "It is almost *necessary* to her existence." The linen trade of Ireland is by much the greatest portion of its commerce—and of that trade, about nine-tenths depend upon Britain. What then are the dangers, which menace this trade, without an *incorporative Union*? They are inevitable ruin. Without political separation, without rebellious commotion, or without civil shock in Ireland—commercial consequences must alone dissolve the trade of that country.

Its own prosperity prepares its death warrant under its present relations; every further advance to success is a step nearer to the grave.

The watchfulness of Great Britain over her trade and navigation, which constitute the sources of her power and her splendor, was sufficiently marked for Ireland, by the Committee of the Lords of Trade. It was this commercial vigilance that appointed them to investigate the Irish *Act for granting BOUNTIES on the EXPORT of the linen and hempen manufactures*

manufactures of that kingdom, and for repealing the bounties on flax seed imported; and for encouraging the growth thereof in that kingdom. For so long as the kingdoms are distinct and separate, save by a parliamentary dependence of one crown upon another, we may reasonably conclude that Britain will always be awake to her own interests, and in obedience to these interests, will turn the balance of Irish trade, by either withdrawing her bounties on Irish articles, or diminishing the duties on the same articles from foreign nations. Thus she can always say to the tide of Irish commerce, under the present connection, " so far shalt thou go :"—but under an Union, she can never say—" no further." Her own interests, as well as the terms of the compact, will bar the sentiment. Whereas, under the existing connexion, what was the opinion of Mr. Foster, p. 108. " The Honourable Gentleman," says he, alluding to Mr. Flood) complains of the report of the English Privy Council, who say that to put Ireland and England on a footing of exact reciprocity as to linens, *Ireland* ought to give a bounty on the exportation of *English* linens, because England gives a bounty on the exportation of Irish linens.—CAN ANY THING BE MORE JUST?" Such was the sentence of Mr. Foster. " Yet, (adds he) England makes no such demand, but is ready by this adjustment," which is precisely applicable to this present measure—" to give additional security to our LINEN TRADE FOR EVER."

Now, in order to ascertain what is the power of Great Britain at present, over the linen trade of Ireland, we must also mark what is the influence of her Bounties on that trade; and thus we shall clearly see how to calculate; first, what must be the effects of the final adjustment of an *Union*, whereby probably all foreign competition in *import*, and consequently *export* with Irish linen, would be prohibited; and next, what must be the effect of success without an *Union*, when commercial contests must ensue, and " the

war * of *bounties*, wherein Ireland cannot cope with Britain?"

Effects of an Union on the Linen Trade.

The effects of an Union, in counteracting foreign competition against Irish trade, may be viewed through the effects of those Bounties, which have already operated on that competition.

The first Bounties on Irish linen exported from Great Britain, took place in 1743, and the export under the bounty was,

In the year 1743,	-	-	40,907 yards;
— 1753,	-	1,039,967	—
— 1763,	-	2,588,564	—
— 1773,	-	2,832,246	—

This increase through bounties has been also aided by duties on the import of foreign linens, but these duties have certainly operated to the prejudice of the woollen manufactures of Great Britain; as foreign powers consequently laid on them reciprocal duties and restrictions. The effect however of those bounties on Irish linens, and of accumulated duties on foreign linens, swelled the import of the former considerably. For

In 1743 there were imported 6,418,375 yards;
— 1773, - - - 17,876,617 —
Increase 11,458,242 yards.

That this increase arose from the operation of bounties and duties, will appear obviously from the decrease in the import and export of foreign linens, compared at the same periods.

* Mr. Foster's speech.

Foreign linens *imported* into London and the outports were,

In 1743,	-	15,584,504 ells;
— 1773,	-	8,954,649 —
		Decrease 9,629,834 —

Foreign linens *exported* from London, and the outports were,

In 1743,	-	9,894,837 ells;
— 1773,	-	4,385,276 —
		Decrease 5,509,561 —

But there is now a second period whereby we may ascertain the effects of British *connexion* and *commerce*, as we did in the foregoing period of British *bounties* and *duties*, in favour of the Irish linen trade.

The Irish linens exported from Great Britain entitled to bounty, were,

In 1743,	-	-	40,907 yards;
— 1773,	-	-	2,832,246 —
— 1789,	-	-	3,587,848 —
— 1792,	-	-	5,598,446 —
— 1795,	-	-	7,482,147 —

Here then is an *increase* of exports on Irish linens, from 40 thousand yards, to nearly seven million and a half in 1795.

The imports of Irish linen as we have seen were in 1743, above four millions of yards—in 1773 above 17 millions: but,

In 1789,	-	-	30,044,960 yards;
— 1791,	-	-	36,232,888 —
— 1794,	-	-	38,018,102 —
— 1797,	-	-	39,869,965* —

* Ireland supplies other countries with about four millions of yards; or one-tenth; the other nine depend on British commerce.

That this astonishing increase, from **FOUR millions** to nearly **FORTY**, has been the effect of the *extended* * commerce of Great Britain will obviously appear, since the foreign linens have *not decreased* during the second period 1789, as they did during the first from 1743, as has been just stated.

The value of foreign linens imported, £.

In 1789,	-	-	433,884
— 1796,	-	-	456,679

Thus we see that they *increased*, which is in itself a proof of the effects of the increased commerce of Great Britain; but on the whole, it may be said that they have preserved their level in the imports. As to the exports, their value was,

In 1786,	-	-	122,731
— 1796,	-	-	132,822

Here we behold the same effects from the same causes, and the same arguments are applicable.

The Irish linens have an advantage over the foreign, to the amount of **25 l.** per cent.—And to this system of bounty and duty, they first owed their increase; and to the unparalleled extension of British commerce, they now owe their extraordinary augmentation.

The linens imported from Ireland, on an average of the three years preceding January 1798, amounted to **2,600,421 l.**

Whereas the value of foreign linens imported during the same period, amounted to but **414,719 l.**

Of these also there were exported to the amount of **119,263 l.**

Therefore there were consumed in Great Britain; but, **299,456 l.**

See Tables D & E.

Whereas there were consumed in Great Britain Irish linens to the amount of about 2,410,421*l.* As on the average of three years, about 190,000*l.* is exported.

Such is the superiority which the Irish linens have over the foreign in the British market; beside on exportation, the Irish linens enter a foreign market, with all the benefits of a large bounty paid to *them* in Britain, and of English capital which can afford long credit. Whereas foreign linens enter the same market after having left behind them in Britain, a certain part of the duties paid on importation, and after having paid some other custom-house charges; so that before they can be unshipped, there is a disadvantage against them, equivalent to from five to six per cent.

But the importance of British connexion, and the growing magnitude of Irish commerce through that connection, must be obvious to every man who reflects that the **TOTAL** value of the linen trade in Ireland, was,

			<i>l.</i>
In 1741,	-	-	480,516
— 1751,	-	-	751,993
— 1761,	-	-	803,258
— 1771,	-	-	1,691,787

Whereas the linen trade, including yarn, with Great Britain alone, upon an average value of the three years ending 1798, amounted to 2,844,402*l.* If, indeed, the Union which with respect to the linen trade of Ireland, is precisely the same in substance as the adjustment whereon Mr. Foster used those emphatic words, (p. 108) “ if it were to take away the benefit of the linen trade from Ireland, it would be a good cause for rejecting it: but as it for **EVER** confirms **ALL THE ADVANTAGES** we derive from the linen trade, and binds England from making *any* laws that can be injurious to it: surely gentlemen who regard that trade, and whose fortunes and rent depend on its *prosperity*, will not

entertain a moment's doubt about EMBRACING THE OFFER." And as the linen trade much exceeds all the rest of the commerce of Ireland, and as nine-tenths of it depend solely upon Britain, what then must be the result were the system of bounties and duties, which constitute almost the principle of its existence, to receive a shock? If the public revenues of Great Britain suffer by this system, if the private consumer suffers, by paying 25 per cent, more than he need; if the manufactures of Britain suffer by reciprocal duties and restrictions laid on by foreign nations—if the interests of Ireland be different, and separate from those of Britain, is it reasonable to suppose that the people of Great Britain will not insist on the support of *her* separate interests? They have long and loudly demanded why they should be charged with this 25 per cent. on the consumption of Irish linens; the linen trade, nay, I may say, the entire trade of Ireland (as will appear hereafter) must be destroyed, if this blind policy of separate interests be forced upon the British by the Irish nation. Ireland should at least reflect that the British market would, if the operation of bounties and duties ceased, soon be cheaply filled, not only with foreign linens, but that Britain herself would soon supply her own market, as in the case of the fail cloth manufacture, *which Ireland lost*. The foreign linens at this moment, with even 25 per cent. against them, not only support a competition with the Irish linens, but undersell them in some branches. Three Provinces of France also, which manufacture more linens than all Ireland together, might struggle for this market; but as the home consumption of Britain would soon increase, so must the home produce. And what the extent of this manufacture is in Britain, may be calculated upon the following comparative view of the exports of linens entitled to bounty.

IRISH.

BRITISH.

In 1743,	40,907 yards	-	52,779 yards
— 1753,	1,039,967	—	641,410
— 1763,	2,558,564	—	2,308,310
— 1773,	2,832,246	—	3,279,808

Thus it appears, that while the Irish manufacture increased from 40 thousand yards, to two millions, the British increased from 52 thousand yards, to three millions, leaving out fractions. And this increase of the linen manufacture is daily becoming more considerable in Great Britain.

The increase in the exports of British linens *not* entitled to bounty, has also been as great in value, as that entitled to bounty. And the foreign linens also, which pay duties on exportation from Great Britain, have been able, beside the competition in the British market, to maintain a competition in the foreign markets with Irish linens, which receive a bounty on leaving the English ports for those markets. Thus, then, stands the case of the Irish linen manufacture, with the whole system of bounties and duties in its favour. But what would follow were that system to cease?—Commercial death. And this system must be broken and destroyed, if instead of Union separate interests exists; whereas new force must be given to that system by Union, and identity of interests. One plain and obvious question will shew to every man of what importance and benefit an Union must be to Ireland. It appears that the principal market for Irish linens is Great Britain, and that four-fifths of the quantity imported, and those of the highest price, are consumed there; consequently the other one-fifth has been exported: Now we ask, has the *Irish* bill of bounties been able to direct the export of this *one-fifth* into her own direct commerce? Surely no stronger proof can be adduced

duced of the superior advantages of British commerce and British capital; and, consequently, of an incorporate Union, with all those advantages. For, though the Irish exporter has at present an obvious superiority over the English one (which is the case, though the bounties in both countries be equal) of five and a half per cent. paid for freightage, commission, warehousing, wharfaging, and other incidents attendant on the import of Irish linens into the British ports, for the purpose of export from thence; still there is not a decrease, but an astonishing *increase* in the exports of Irish linens *from Great Britain*. Even in the last year, which was a confused period of rebellion, the increase above the preceding year, amounted to 149,059*l.* This then, is an obvious test of the effects of capital, which can afford long credit—of well assorted cargoes, of India goods, foreign linens, Manchester, Birmingham, Norwich and Sheffield manufactures; all of which have resisted the operative advantage of five and a half per cent. in favour of the Irish exporter. Since here, then, is an unequivocal and clear conviction of the benefits of *English* trade, it may be asked—Is Ireland disposed to surrender those benefits at home and abroad, or to secure them for ever?

Those advantages are no less numerous and extensive, than they are singular in their nature. For, in order to establish a reciprocity, “Ireland *ought* to give a bounty on the exportation of English linens, because England gives a bounty on the exportation of Irish linens.”—*Can any thing be more just?* said Mr. Foster. But what is actually the case? The annual bounties paid to Ireland by England, on an average of the four last years, amounted to 34,000*l.*; and the annual revenues from the trade of Ireland, during the same period, amounted to 40,000*l.*: therefore, the annual balance for the gain of the British revenue, or for the ninth part of its trade, was 6,000*l.*, which bears a proportion to its whole revenue, during that period, (5,734,525*l.*) as one to

to 850. Thus then England obtains one, where eight hundred and fifty are its due: such is the rate of *surplus* above other nations, or of benefit to Ireland arising from *British bounties*. And further: the benefit obtained by Ireland from the loss sustained in the *British revenues*, amounts to above 700,000*l. per ann.*: which Britain must receive, were Irish linens taxed equally with those of foreign countries. These extraordinary advantages however, Ireland cannot hold under the present system of things. Not only separate interests must produce a separation of connexion, but without separation of connexion, this commercial system so long and loudly murmured against in England, must finally be dissolved, and consequently the trade of Ireland be no more.

Commercial effects without an Union.

One of two events must follow, *without an union*; either Ireland will sink under the *ruin* of the present commercial system, or under the *success* of it.

The *ruin* of it will be founded on the loss to the public revenues of Great Britain; on the advanced price paid by the private consumers in Great Britain; on the detriment to the general manufactures of Great Britain; on the universal murmurs in Great Britain; and hence that "war of *bounties*," predicted by Mr. Foster, and the inevitable dissolution of the system, because the interests of both countries are not *one and the same*.

The further *success* of Irish commerce, under the present system, also unfolds the inevitable *ruin* of this system, and that success is tolerably evident. For, notwithstanding the enumerated causes of *English* success, contrary to the Irish Bill of *Bounties*, are as so many embarrassments which bear upon the Irish exports; however, means of palliating them will gradually develop themselves; and it must unavoidably ensue, that an existing operative advantage

tage in favour of any branch of trade, will ultimately, though perhaps not rapidly, effectuate its establishment.

What then must follow? The commercial intercourse between the two countries must be ruined by a *success* which will operate to the diminution of the export trade of Great Britain, to the diminution of the returns of that trade; and consequently to the prejudice of her navigation and commercial interest in general. For can it reasonably be supposed that one nation will uphold another, by fostering its trade at an immense expense to herself and her subjects, and at a loss to her revenues and manufactures, her navigation, and commercial interests?—No: Ireland is too just.—Or, can such a trade be continued, while the interest of the two countries clash, and insisted on as separate, are made to war for separation? No: Britain is too wise. Let the Irish well observe that the Lords of Trade have considered such a revulsion of commerce, as that just pointed out and provided against it. They have told the committee of council “ that in such a case, a *reduction* in the duties on *foreign linens* **MUST** take place; that the kingdom of Great Britain would thus be enabled to supply herself as cheaply as ever; that she would do it with *advantage* to the *revenue*; and that she would probably too obtain *larger consumption* of *her woollen manufactures*, and *other goods* upon the continent of Europe.”

But suppose that such mischiefs to the navigation and commerce of Great Britain were not to ensue, at least suddenly, or to a great extent; *success* in commerce is, however, a death-blow to the linen trade of Ireland, under her *subsisting connexion* with Great Britain: for, the consequences of improving commerce, is increased opulence. The consequence of increased opulence is increased price of land, provisions, labour, and consequently manufactures. Therefore, as soon as the price of linen be augmented, its importation into Great Britain will decline, and that of foreign

reign linens proportionately increase, *without any lowering* of the duties. Now the foreign linens are able to stand the market with Irish linens ; then they would beat them out. The import of fine linens for home consumption, would suffer particularly ; the import of table linen, &c. would be wholly lost : and if the low-priced linens should take another channel by direct export from Ireland, then, through want of a suitable assortment for the English market, all the branches of the Irish trade would be considerably diminished in their imports into Great Britain. This would unquestionably follow, *without* reducing the duties on foreign linens. And, as to the Bounties on British linens, either they must be *continued*, or they must be *changed*. If they be continued, inasmuch as the demand for the Irish branch of the trade diminishes, that for the English must increase : this demand increasing, the produce will increase proportionately, and then the same results will follow, as formerly, in the sail cloth branch : For it should be remarked by the Irish, that, though Great Britain is at this moment subject to great disadvantages in the linen trade, yet she is supposed to manufacture more than is exported from Ireland : consequently, she is in that improved state of the business, that it requires but mere will to advance rapidly ; and this must result from any further *success* of Irish commerce, under the *continuance* of British Bounties. But, on the other hand, can it be required that these Bounties should be *changed* ; that is, that they should be raised for the *benefit* of Ireland, in order to *check* the foreign imports, and consequently charge the British consumer with the *double* increase, of foreign duty and Irish price, to diminish the public revenues ; to injure the national manufactures ; and to violate all the principles of commercial policy ? Yet, if this be not done, the *success* of Irish commerce, is the tomb of its linen trade.

What

What then must follow *without Union*? Waving the certainty of separation and ruin from political and civil causes, either Ireland must remain as it is, with one solitary manufacture, which cannot be improved ; and with an unfortunate peasantry, who are not virtuous, because they are NOT HAPPY, but are seduced into sedition through poverty, and afterwards made tools of rebellion through despair. Or, in the next place, should Ireland be successful in commerce, then that very success becomes self-destruction, under the existing system, and the doctrine of separate interests.

The friends of Ireland therefore, will do well to consider a plain and simple statement arising from the two views, which we have taken of its commerce.—Ireland, without an incorporative Union, stands exposed to private poverty—to public calamities—to desperate and immoral convulsions—to SEPARATION. Ireland, without an incorporative Union, is barred by her DEPENDANCE ON ENGLISH BOUNTY, and by the power of Great Britain over that bounty, from attaining any high eminence in commerce. Or we shall suppose, against all probability, that Ireland, without Union, may become successful in commerce : therefore, in so much must she injure the trade and navigation of Great Britain in all its direct consequences, and all its collateral relations : and consequently, their commercial intercourse must be hazarded, their concord broken, and their present connexion be dissolved. Or finally, suppose the connexion be not thus hazarded, and that she be successful :—then, since the interests of both countries are not one and the same, irreparable mischiefs must ensue to Ireland ; its trade will be lost by a very *small rise* upon her commodities, that *must* follow her success ; for Great Britain will not, on the principle of separate interests, and on the claims of her manufacturers, and on the grounds of commercial policy, *increase* her bounties ; Ireland, therefore, must fall from a pinnacle not lofty, into ruin the most profound !

However,

However, that we may ascertain fully, what she must suffer, by the *loss* of British trade, either through *separation*, which must follow *non-incorporation* of parliaments and interests, or through the consequences of *success without incorporation*; and further what she may *gain* by an incorporation of legislatures and interests, let us review the state of her whole commerce. And in order to investigate this matter fairly, we shall not take a *single* year, but an average of three years; whereby we may see, beyond doubt or deception, what is the real nature and full extent of the Irish commerce with Great Britain.

On an average of the LAST three Years.

CATTLE TRADE.

	£.
Cows and oxen, 6 <i>l.</i> each,	144,550
Horses, 10 <i>l.</i> each,	13,610
Swine, 30 <i>s.</i> each,	10,181
	<hr/>
	168,242

CORN TRADE.

Barley, 17 <i>s.</i> per quarter,	17,579
Oats, 14 <i>s.</i> per ditto.	205,391
Oatmeal, 7 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> per boll,	24,884
Wheat, 40 <i>s.</i> per quarter,	35,436
Flour,	5,710
	<hr/>
	289,000

PROVISION TRADE.

Beef, 3 <i>l.</i> 15 <i>s.</i> per barrel,	388,522
Butter, 3 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> per cwt.	784,654
Pork, 3 <i>l.</i> 15 <i>s.</i> per barrel,	674,981
Bacon, 2 <i>l.</i> 5 <i>s.</i> per cwt.	106,056
	<hr/>
	1,954,213

LINEN TRADE.

Plain shirting and sheeting, at 1 s. 5 d. per yard,	-	2,600,101
Other linens,	-	320
Linen yarn (raw)	-	243,981
		<hr/>
		2,844,402

TOTALS.

Cattle,	-	168,242
Corn,	-	289,000
Provision,	-	1,954,213
		<hr/>
		2,411,455

Thus it appears that on the average of 1796, 1797, 1798, the linen trade alone amounted to 2,844,402 *l.*

While all the branches of provision, corn, and cattle, produced 2,411,455 *l.*

* Therefore the linen trade alone exceeds all these, by 432,947 *l.*

And as her whole produce and manufactures imported amount on the same average to 5,510,825 *l.*

And as her cattle, corn, provision, and linen trade, which she could not find a market for but in England, amount to 5,255,857 *l.*

Consequently there remains out of her whole trade, for which she might perhaps find another market beside Great Britain, 254,968 *l.*

It must also be observed, that there are articles of *foreign* produce, for which probably she would not find a *foreign* market, but which Great Britain now takes from her, with her other imports, to the amount of 101,864 *l.*

Therefore, it may with great truth be asserted,† that the commercial existence of Ireland depends upon Great Britain.

The advantages might appear more striking, were we to detail the Irish articles favoured by Great Britain on importation, and the British articles favoured by Great Bri-

* Her linen trade alone is more than all the other branches collectively, carried on with domestic and foreign produce.

† See Mr. Foster's Speech.

tain on *exportation* to Ireland. This, however, shall be only given in some instances, that we may not intrude too much upon the reader's attention.—Bacon is admitted into English ports **FREE**, from Ireland—from other countries it pays $2l. 7s. 6d.$ per hundred weight: Beef *free*, from Ireland; and from other countries **PROHIBITED**—Cattle in like manner. Linens **FREE**, from Ireland—from other countries $25l.$ per cent. We shall not enumerate any more of the *imports*, but specify a few of those favoured on *exportation* to Ireland—Coals, $1s. 2d.$ the chaldron—to any other place in British ships, $15s. 5d.$ —and in foreign ships, $1l. 7s. 6d.$ —Sugars in loaves, $1l. 6s.$ per hundred weight Bounty, when *destined* to foreign countries, &c. &c.—Goods *permitted* to Ireland, but **PROHIBITED** to other countries,—Coin of gold and silver.—Tools or utensils in the cotton, linen, woollen, silk, iron, and steel manufactures, &c. &c. Beside *all Bounties* given by *Parliament*, on *British ships* in the Greenland fishery, are allowed to *ships from Ireland*. And ships from Ireland are allowed *all the numerous privileges* of British ships.

Thus we have obviously before us the nature and extent of the Irish commerce with Great Britain, which constitutes almost the whole of its trade,—we see also what has been its wonderful increase, and the causes of that increase; first, the *repulse* given to its competitors, by accumulated duties, and the *support* given to Ireland by extensive *bounties*; though both operate to the loss of the British revenue, the expense of the British consumer, and the injury of British manufactures.—In the second place, we observe, that the cause of this increase of Irish trade, is the unparalleled and astonishing extension of British commerce. (See Table, E.)—We behold also, that while Ireland by her connection enjoys more than a ninth part of that commerce, Britain does not derive a ninth part of the customs, but a 145 th part—that is, she favours her above other nations,

and to her own disadvantage, in the proportion of 145 to 9, —Hereby Great Britain sustains a sixteen-fold loss, and gives Ireland a sixteen-fold gain, or infinitely more in the results.—She now offers Ireland further, the key of her treasures, and the security and increase of that commerce,—to clothe the naked peasants of that country, feed their hungry offspring, and give their families comfortable dwellings.—But it is said they are indolent. And why are they indolent? From moral effects, which we could easily trace, to civil causes, that must wither under the influence of the Union. Be it granted, however, that they are indolent: but are they not indigent? Is the severity of labour softened by due rewards? For if they be *thus* indigent, they must be idle. The case is ever the same, where labour and industry are not animated by proportionate returns.—It is true policy, and alone true, which supports a reciprocal advantage; which rouses, animates, and spreads abroad, a spirit of industry amongst the poor;—let us be assured, that the happiness of mankind is at once a liberal and a selfish principle.

It appears throughout the commercial support given by Great Britain, for the amelioration of the state of the labourers and manufacturers of Ireland, that there is a balance of nearly four millions annually, for the direct produce of the lands, and their labour. Great Britain invites forth, animates and remunerates Irish industry by 5,610,825*l.* per annum; whereas the British peasantry and manufacturers receive in return from Ireland but 2,087,672*l.*

She holds out also to the industrious manufacturers of Ireland, all the improvements of genius and discoveries in the arts, to facilitate their skill, their success, and opulence,—while she prohibits this communication to other nations around her.

She

She even renders less detrimental to the poor of Ireland the luxuries of the rich, by supplying, at a cheaper rate than it could be procured elsewhere, that quantum of foreign productions which indulgence deems necessary.

She pays the manufacturers of Ireland 25 per cent. more for their linens, than she could purchase them for from others.

She has, by her wise and liberal protection, fostered this great trade of Ireland, in so much, that she has augmented industry amongst its manufacturers ten fold.

She has thrown open her ports, free, for the produce of Ireland; while she has prohibited the like articles from other countries.

She supplies the wants of Ireland, at a less revenue, than she supplies the wants of her *own natives*. She imparts to her almost the necessaries for commercial existence. She gives her the means of carrying on her manufactures, and of vending her manufactures; and she sends her the raw materials, these elements of her industry, while she strictly refuses them to other nations.

She has thrown open to Ireland, the commerce of the world: And, as it is trade and commerce that have broken the iron yoke of bondage in other countries; so they will in Ireland exalt the humble, and bring down the high, to that point of civil morality, where **BOTH** will be happy.

But is this large cup of blessings which is preparing both for the poor and rich of Ireland, to be dashed by the wickedness of cabal, or weakness of party? There is a standard whereby we can measure sound policy, and it is an unequivocal one:—it is facts; against which all assertions are but an idle waste of words. Then to these *facts* we appeal:—Are the *peasants of Ireland* **BADLY CLOTHED**, **ILL FED**, and **WORSE LODGED** than the peasants of *any part of Europe*? It is asserted by numbers that *they are*. And whence this? Is it owing to the *form of Government*? No—

It is the *British form of Government*, and none can surpass it. Is it owing to the *climate*? No; none is more happy. Is it owing to the *soil*? No; none is more fertile. Is it owing to the *nature* of the individuals? No; for, by nature, none are more active, more zealous, or more strong. To what, then, is it owing?—To *practical* defects in the political, commercial, and civil state; which can never be remedied, but by an Union alone—and without which, all that is now good in the state of Ireland, must be diminished and gradually lost; and all that is evil retained and gradually increased, until civil dissolution follows.

It is a really a blind policy which has pursued separate interests in the civil community of Ireland, but it is something worse which would now pursue them in the two great political communities of the Empire.

If this doctrine of separate interests prevails, the merchants, artificers, landholders, farmers, and cultivators of Ireland must be ruined. However, before misconception, or worse ambition sacrifice so many victims, let men pause! Let them consider well before they refuse to establish as a right, that commerce which is now a courtesy. In reality, they are destroying every possibility of its continuance, even as a courtesy, when they may convert it into a lasting security.

But they assert, that the minister's object, in this measure, is taxation—That no taxes will or can bear upon the poor of Ireland, we have already * shown beyond the power of dispute. And upon other classes, only a certain portion will be fixed; beyond which portion, no power of taxation can go, let the increase of the sources of revenue be ever so great, without a total dissolution of the compact of Union. Ireland, most certainly, will be rendered *rich* and *productive* by commerce, but *cannot*, under the *Union*, be rendered *poor* by taxation.

* See *Union or Separation*, p. 5.

Beside, the present commercial system between the two countries cannot hold *without* an *Union*; it is altogether impossible. The Members of the House of Commons, who are concerned with the great manufacturing places, urge loudly* that there is no reciprocity:—for, English manufactures are loaded with duties, while Irish manufactures are not only exempted from them, but are encouraged by Bounties, to the domestic cost of the people of England, and to the detriment of their foreign trade. The revenue foregoes, as has been shewn, above 700,000*l.* per ann. in the duties which are *not* levied on Irish linen; and the subjects of Great Britain pay at least a million more for their linens, than they might do if the importation of foreign linens were on an equal footing with those of Ireland. Is it reasonable, in policy or conscience, to suppose that they will thus give their treasure to Ireland, and for the purpose perhaps, of separation, or for the benefit of an enemy, against whom they protect Ireland even with their blood?—In some future moment of wanton pride and accumulated power, Ireland might conceive her existing connexion insulting, and separate.

Beside those arguments for Union on the part of Britain, surely on the part of Ireland, if she wants industry, as has been urged, and wants capital, as is known—where can these be found, but in Union with Britain? Without the connexion of some other state; Ireland **CANNOT** exist—and unless that connexion be British *Union*, she cannot exist as a commercial Nation: for, if Britain, impelled by the motives already stated, suppress a trade in those commodities whereby she can raise the value of her own; and if the exports from Ireland to Great Britain be discouraged, as the exports from England to Ireland: what must become of the Irish trade?—Can she turn for a market to Russia, Sweden, Denmark, Germany, Holland, Poland, France, Spain?

* See Mr. Peel's Speech on the Union.

Where will she find vent for her linens, cattle and corn? Can she undertake an East India trade, and for those articles? Can she, in this abandoned and impoverished state drive a West India trade, when she cannot even * now? —Will she look for encouragement to America?—Will she turn for the lost trade to Africa?—There is demonstrably no security, no resource, for the vent of her products and manufactures over the globe, but through Britain; because, whether they be natural or artificial, the other nations of the earth can furnish them cheaper. What then must follow if Ireland were separated and independent? She might sink into her Breton barbarity, † or fall back into that Gothic government, characterized by feuds, murders, and depredations.

We have before shewn‡ the absurd and short-sighted fears of Dublin—Wherever commerce is accumulated, its influence must pervade the whole country, animating industry into life and action. It is certainly true that the trade of Dublin is now greater than that of any other commercial place in Ireland; but it by no means follows that it will not preserve the same proportion in the increase, which it now holds in the present partition of commerce §. But if it

* Notwithstanding the free trade of Ireland, she has not faculty to carry it on. Britain supplies her with seven-eighths of her West Indian consumption.

† The *Breton Law* was the ancient code of the Irish; whereby murder, treason and robbery were punished with a *Fine*, which was called an *Ertche*.

‡ See *Union or Separation*.

§ Present state of trade, by a view of the tonnage 1797.

Belfast	-	-	-	4,630 Tons.
Cork	-	-	-	4,904
Youghal	-	-	-	6,434
Galway	-	-	-	1,353
Dublin	-	-	-	15,092

it did not, is the whole nation to be sacrificed to a part? In fact, however, that part must be benefited by the whole; the capital is as the heart through which the blood must flow.

But unhappily throughout the course of public affairs in Ireland, the highest points of general interest have been sacrificed to particular views. The principles have been partial, and the calculations founded upon the arithmetic of *self*. It is surely sufficient, however, if particular views be suffered to produce particular injuries; but what Machiavel will assert that a whole nation, and all its people,—that a whole empire, and all its subjects—that all Europe perhaps, nay the globe itself, should be delivered to destruction, for the sake of individuals, whose designing ambition has duped some, or whose ill founded authority may have imposed upon others? The existence of the whole nation of Ireland, the blood, the subsistence of its people, their already indifferent food and worse raiment, are about to be sacrificed by such superabundant zeal. If these men be so ardent for public good, in God's name, why are the peasantry and mechanics of Ireland so long suffered to remain in the same state? Surely, where the complaints have been so long and so loud, on the condition of the lower class in Ireland, some safe and radical remedy should be adopted. And since those complaints have come down, detailed to us by such authority as that of Sir John Davies, from the time of Henry II.; as of Swift, from the time of the Revolution; and of Adam Smith, and Dean Tucker in our own times; and since,

C 2 whether

	Tons.
While the total tonnage of Ireland (1797), was	53,181
That of London alone was	449,017
That even of Newcastle	128,294
But while the tonnage of Ireland was, in 1797, but,	53,181
That of the Empire was	1,565,651

By this we may estimate the capital that each brings into a joint commercial stock if they unite.

whether the complaints of the people of Ireland be true or false, they have been uniformly the passage to their passions, to make them pioneers of *Rebellion*; were it not wise, on the part of the high and powerful in Ireland, to close this avenue for ever, by the consequences of Union? Were it not wise both for the exalted and the humble, to silence for ever such complaints, as that “when Esau came fainting from the field, and at the point to die, he sold his birth-right for a mess of pottage.”—Were it not wise to check too long continued emigrations,* by checking the causes, if real, and by checking the complaints, if artificial, and both by the consequences of an Union?

The zeal of humble industry, and the splendor of exalted talents, have passed from Ireland into foreign lands, to eat even the bread of honest and independent poverty among an unoppressed people. We do not say however that the people of Ireland were oppressed by the Government. We protest against the assertion. The barbarous spirit of feudal times looked *down* upon the cottage, and looked *above* the throne; therefore the government was governed, and the subjects were vassals. But as commerce enriched, and knowledge enlightened mankind, the lordly yoke of feudal tyranny has been broken throughout Europe, kings freed from slavery, and people from oppression. Thus, through commerce, will the barbarous spirit of feudal power finally depart from Ireland, and the old and corrupt body of civil defe&ts find a sepulchre in the Union.

With its present boasted trade, however, the lower classes of Ireland are poor, as will hereafter be shewn on parliamentary authority, beyond human condition in other countries:

* The emigrations from Ireland have not ceased since Swift's time. In the year 1797, families to the amount of some hundreds passed over to America.

tries: it is evident, therefore, that the trade is not yet extensive enough to reach the poor. And as that boasted trade may perish at the nod of Britain, the question is, Will the Irish reject at once, not only security for that trade, and the means of its unbounded extension through English capital, skill, and commerce; but all the *incalculable benefits* of an UNION upon the WHOLE BODY of the Irish nation?

It is this Union that will bring comforts to the people, and convert the bogs of Ireland into smiling corn fields and meadows; that will clothe her naked mountains with woods; dig her mines, and explore her treasures; cut her canals to convey them to the ocean; pour forth abundance from her now half-cultivated fields; and, instead of herds of cattle, raise up numerous and industrious bodies of men. Thus, as remarked by the able and eloquent Bishop of Llandaff, *Ireland* will be *enriched*, and *England* *not impoverished*, but the empire be increased in opulence and strength. Sixty millions of acres, so fertile by nature, if improved by art, will maintain much more than thirty millions of men: out of these thirty millions, five millions may bear arms; and out of these five millions, one million may be always in arms without prejudice to agriculture or commerce, to protect the other twenty-nine millions in peace and industry. With such a body of united Britons, with the commerce resulting from this Union, with a navy thus supported, with riches and resources thus secured, with such strength from Nature and from *Union*, we may bid defiance to the world. Then we may look down in calm and supreme dignity upon the little disputes and wars of Continental Princes, wholly uninterested in their artificial balance of power. Our confederacy will be then at home—in Union: our balance of power will be then—the population, the riches, the resources of Great and United Britain. God and Nature have befriended us much; and, unless we be *enemies to ourselves*,

selves, we may be the happiest and strongest empire in the world—INVINCIBLE.

At a moment, then, when a desolating fiend stalks over the earth, ravaging all states and conditions, should we not unite against this monster? It has however been gravely advanced in Ireland, that connexion with Britain is an advantage; but Union destruction. If British connexion be an advantage, Union, which is but closer and stronger connexion, must be closer and stronger advantage: unless Britain be considered as a physical body in flames, whose warmth is genial at a distance, but which burns by contact, and consumes by Union. Is this however the case? Ireland is in truth, as was eloquently described by the able Prelate whom we have just quoted, a graft, which has just grown up and flourished on the British stock: separate it, and it will neither strike root downwards nor bear fruit upwards, but will wither under the shadow of the British oak, or be poisoned by the pestilential vapours of the tree of liberty.—Unite it then with Britain, and it will become a sound and vigorous limb of the empire; unite it with France, and it will become a poor shrivelled excrescence, which will be cut off as caprice or convenience points out.

CIVIL STATE.

This point of national Policy may be considered in two views: First, with respect to civil, next with respect to moral economy. Civil economy comprehends the support of individuals, and consequently of a State: moral economy regards religion or the manners of a People.

First:

First : the system of civil economy which regulates the support of the great body of individuals of Ireland, is obvious as to its nature by its consequences. A statement was made to the House of Commons of Ireland, and which was before cited, (p. 10 Union or Séparation) that “ out of three millions, there are two millions one hundred thousand excused on account of poverty from paying yearly four-pence each to the State.” Where there is such personal poverty, the state must ever be in danger, through dissatisfaction within, and want of support and power without.

Having clearly before us, at this awful period, the nature and consequences of this system, we have been led to consider what is the remedy for this civil condition. Our solemn and deliberate opinion is, that there is no other remedy whatever, but an Incorporate Union.

As to Utopian cups with the waters of *forgetfulness*, prescribed by some men, they must have certainly been emptied by themselves. Such men reason upon topics without remembering these particular and important circumstances, which totally change the nature of a case. And while some reason too generally, others reason too particularly; such, for instance, are foreign and domestic Traders, who look not beyond local or personal concerns, and never enter into a combination for the general benefit of national commerce; and, next, Political Traders, who consult only for themselves, and not for the Public at large.

Hence the crude absurdities and gross misrepresentations, which have been diffused upon this occasion. They are too numerous for any one man to undertake to expose them; and they are indeed too glaring to require it. The authors and abettors, however, of all manner of villainy could not have found more zealous dupes or more apt instruments for the projected ruin of mankind in a Nation.—But if it be true, as Swift said, that “ general calamities are allowed to be the great **UNITERS** of mankind,” we have solid ground

for

for hope. The individual and public condition in Ireland, and the general calamity which has desolated Europe and menaced the globe, will upon this reasoning cause the Empire to be united, consolidated, and strengthened. With respect to Ireland, is it not a glorious and honourable invigoration which results from private poverty being changed into public opulence, and individual abjection into National elevation? "The picture," said Mr. Dundas, "which I draw of Ireland, is of a gloomy and *lamentable aspect*; but, in proportion as it is so, it becomes the duty of every well-wisher to both countries to devise some remedy by which he may destroy the hopes of the enemy, and give *new life* and *new vigour* to the Sister Kingdom." For independent of commercial advantages through increased capital and skill; independent of civil advantages through *improved agriculture and manners*; independent of *improved industry and condition*, and the termination of *civil feuds*; independent of all these advantages, the question is, as Mr. Pitt stated it, *not what Ireland is to GAIN, but what she is to PRESERVE*; *not merely how she may best improve her situation, but how she is to avert a pressing and immediate danger.*" When the assassin lifts his knife, the first act is, Natural impulse, for instant safety: the next is, sound thought, for future security. Rob nature; however, of this impulse against domestic traitors in Ireland; strip the mind of this thought for security against a rapacious foe, who had declared war against Kings and enslaves all Republics; remove all those loud pleas on the present occasion,—and exclusive of such inevitable dangers, if the two countries do *not* unite, they *must* separate: and ruin follows. Whereas let the two countries unite, and if reason, founded upon wise experience, have any claim on certainty, it may be maintained as a truth, that a termination of Civil misery in Ireland will ensue from Union, and a rapid growth of individual opulence augment the stock of National happiness, common power,

power, and imperial strength. Thus then she may despise every foreign danger, and enjoy and pursue her domestic improvement.

According to the acknowledged* principles of Civil œconomy, it is agreed that, for the advantage of individuals, and consequently of the State, for it is impossible to separate them, each labourer should be enabled to rear four children.—Whatever therefore is the average weekly expense of supplying five individuals with comfortable dress, dwelling, and diet, should be the earning of the father of a labouring family. If the weekly expense be valued at two shillings each, his labour should procure ten ; for, the mother's work is computed to be equal to her own support. These being the principles universally received in the systems of Civil œconomy for the good of the individual and of the State, it may fairly be asked, do the fathers of labouring families in Ireland earn ten shillings each? For we believe no individual can have comfortable dress, dwelling, and diet, under two shillings on an average per week. This point we shall not push farther. Without laying open the wound more deeply, we have no doubt but an Union will radically heal it.

The same standard hold goods not only for all places, but all persons concerned in industry and the arts ; marking that due gradation, whereby remunerations and rewards rise with the rank of talents or employment.

With respect to Farmers, their portion is accurately ascertained, which is to reward their skill or application. It is two-thirds of the price of the produce of the land: one belongs to those who live by rent, or the proprietors: another third belongs to those who live by wages, or is for general cultivation: and the other third is for those who live by profit and stock, or the farmers. The two last thirds therefore

* Cantillon, Lord Chief Justice Hale, King, Davenant, Adam Smith, &c.

'therefore are the farmer's portion, for himself, for his labourers, and for his expences. Such being the principles universally adopted as wise and just, after ages of experience, it may not be unfair to ask, does this system prevail in Ireland? Does the farmer who cultivates a considerable tract of land, or the cottager who tills a single acre or a single rood of potatoes, does he receive two thirds of the value of the produce? If the potatoes of the cottager be worth three pounds, is the landlord satisfied with one pound for his rent? If not, he violates the first principle of Civil œconomy, he is unwise towards the state and himself, and he is highly unjust toward the cottager his tenant. That this system, however, will grow out of the consequences of an Union, there can be no doubt; and that it must be for the advantage not only of the lower order but the upper orders of men we refer to demonstration and experience in Britain and elsewhere.

The reason too is obvious. Liberal rewards invite industry: industry promotes population: and population and industry increase each other. For as the liberal wages and rewards of industry produce plenty, plenty gives subsistence and invites population; and increased population demands increased subsistence and forces industry. Thus it is that the wise and just returns of labour, giving plenty and strength, promote industry and population; and, giving animation and a hope of bettering man's condition, rouse the peasant, the farmer, or the manufacturer, to exert his strength, or stretch his talents to the utmost. And then the charge of indolence and indigence is haard no more.

However, where there is not much agriculture in a country, little stock for trade, and a tolerable population, the wages will, through competition, be low, and the people be partly idle, or emigrate. But it must be granted that Ireland is not populous, though its tendency to population is extraordinary and unequalled in Europe. For, when Sir

William

William Petty wrote his Political Arithmetic, he said “England is *five* times better peopled than Ireland.” Had therefore the progression of population been *equal* in both countries since that period, since Ireland contains at this moment above four millions of people, and England is one-third larger, the latter should have at least twenty-seven millions: and as the population of England falls short of this, in the same relative proportion has the population of Ireland gained upon that of England. Still, however, Ireland is not populous in proportion to the actual number it may have, but to the numbers it can feed. And what a view might be given here of the natural capacities of Ireland in soil, now neglected; in fisheries, somewhat known but little heeded; and in position on the globe, not to be surpassed for the great benefits of commerce. It is to draw all these wonderful resources into action, that we anxiously support an Union: for that nation possesses means of opulence, power, and consequence, which have been too long and shamefully neglected. If men, however, be wise at this moment, the time is not far distant when internal industry and home trade will change the export of provisions into that of manufactures. Instead of dreary solitudes for grazing will be seen smiling corn fields and joyous population; and the Island be transformed into a peaceful granary, or resound with the animated din of manufactures and workshops.

There is a great and important truth, which the Merchants, Manufacturers, and Landholders of Ireland should hold constantly in view—the *value* of the produce of *land* or *labour* can be increased *only* by *population* or *skill*. *Population* cannot increase without increased funds to support it, which is *Capital*: *skill* cannot increase without increased funds to reward and apply its discoveries, which is also *Capital*. Ireland has not that *Capital*. But Union with Great Britain will give that *Capital*:—consequently it will give

give an increased value to the produce of land and labour; it will give increased agriculture, increased manufactures, increased population, increased commerce.

Want of Capital may be one, amidst other material reasons, for the backward state of agriculture in Ireland. But this reason cannot apply to great Proprietors. Experience, however, in all countries shews that *great Proprietors* are seldom *great improvers*. It has been also found in Ireland, as well as in that ancient state of Europe, to which Ireland bears too much resemblance at this day, that *less improvement* took place under those who occupied the land than under the *Proprietors*. But least of all has improvement ever taken place, while *those employed* were either really, or what is eventually the same thing, supposed themselves to be slaves. A man, who is without all hope or expectation of acquiring property, will labour as little as possible, provided he can subsist. He has no interest beyond his maintenance, and so far only will he think of labour. Man is always the same creature under the same circumstances, and the great cast of Nature is uniform, however different the climate or the time. In antient Italy, the decline of agriculture remarked by Pliny, and in ancient Greece by Aristotle, and in the West Indies the lash of a slave-driver—prove that when man has *no interest* in his exertions, nor possibility of civil elevation, and bettering his condition, *he will do as little as he can*. Now we ask, *Are the People of Ireland indolent?*

If so: indolence and indigence are unsure cements for a civil system; whereas due rewards conferred upon labour animate industry, produce comfort, and give solid security to a state. If the people be happy, they will be virtuous. He, who requires a proof of this, has only to contemplate the state of Great Britain to-day,—of the rest of Europe—of Ireland itself!!! But the whole civil condition of Ireland will be improved by the consequences of Union with Great

Great Britain, both with respect to the support of individuals and the state; and with respect to the present cast of national manners, which forms the *second* part to be considered.

An inquiry into the causes of the manners of Ireland might afford, if judiciously traced, one of the most novel pictures perhaps ever presented to the human mind. Such a combination of *Brehon** barbarity forced upon their moral habits during ages, by our ill-judging forefathers; such a mixture of allodial authority exercised with tyranny, by the conquering proprietors of lands; such a feudal bondage, without the formalities of law, or feelings of Nature—sunk, embittered, and depraved the human heart. After ages of such horrid policy, England at length communicated its government and laws to Ireland. But as our ancestors had established themselves by force, the Government of Ireland has ever since partaken of force. It was an error however, which, though the Government saw, constituted as it has been, it was unable to correct. Most unquestionably force was not a remedy for evils which grew out of the civil and religious differences of the country. The true remedy was another species of connexion—it was Union. And that remedy Molyneaux, the great champion of Ireland's rights and liberties, saw, and ardently desired; but despaired of the blessing. Unhappily this sound and radical policy, which might have closed all the wounds of hatred and hostility, was neglected for a species of quackery, which, in political as well as physical disorders, but makes bad worse. Thus through ages the barbarous cast of Irish manners was kept up by oppression. In after-times it was

* The nature of this code of laws, and its effects upon civil society, may be collected from the following historical fact:—When Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam told Maguire that he would send a Sheriff into Fermanagh—“Your Sheriff,” said Maguire, “shall be welcome to me, but let me know his *Ericke* (or price of his head) before-hand, that if my people cut it off, I may put the *Ericke* upon the country.”

aggravated by the addition of civil vices, and the loss of savage virtues, which resulted from hatred and intermixture with their conquerors. And in nearer periods, their whole mind and manners have been empoisoned by the cunning cant of plausible men, and inflamed by the dark doctrines of traitors, until maddened, brutalized, and made ferocious by the contagious barbarity of the day.

The state of Ireland has been truly peculiar in many points. The Protestants, who were least numerous, had the property and power ; while the Catholics, who were most numerous, had neither power nor property. It was deemed necessary therefore to support the Protestant, lest the Catholics shoud get the power, and consequently the property : and hence a great oppression had arisen in former times. And though it be now removed, a deep-rooted jealousy has passed down to this day, and has embodied with it a legion of more corrupt passions to desolate the hearts and affections of men. Such things cannot go on ; there must be an end to these disorders, or an end to civil society. And against civil death in Ireland we know of no protection that the utmost stretch of human faculties can form, but an incorporative Union. This measure will give in substance what both parties desire—namely, security to the Protestant for his present property and future power ; and emancipation to the Catholic, or three millions of subjects, from the shackles of hideous distinction. Under an incorporative Union, all suspicious fears of losing eight-tenths of the property of the island must be removed for ever from the breast of the Protestant : and all well-grounded hopes of gaining legislative power and civil rights may, and will beyond doubt, be confirmed to the Catholic without dread, and with considerable advantage. Thus the gall of civil jealousy will no longer embitter the minds and manners of men, nor the flame of religious animosity kindle up the torch of frantic barbarity. But rebellion, crushed amidst

its expiring crimes, will die after a reign of horrors, which is beyond the reach of record or description. For the first effort of Irish history was a page of traditional rebellions, and it has never ceased since to dip its pen in human blood.

But if, notwithstanding all the well-grounded expectations of rescuing men and manners from a gulph of immorality, through the unquestionable results of an Union on the civil state of Ireland, it be asked, who are the advocates, or what authority pleads for this measure? We proudly answer, that our supporters are some of the most wise, the most virtuous, and most revered characters, that have done honour to human nature in different ages and nations. And now we ask, who are the opposers of Union?—One man indeed we see, whom we have been taught to respect, and therefore by his own words we judge him:—“When gentlemen argue on bad ground, even their own arguments often make against them.”—(Woodfall’s Report of Mr. Foster’s Speech, p. 106.) But are the opposers of this Union anxious on the score of Irish independence? Molyneux, the advocate of Irish liberty, wisely points to independence—for it exists solely—in Union. Are they desirous to put down the mighty load of fundamental grievances in civilization, ignorance, superstition, manners, poverty? Let them then embrace commerce,—for to commerce, and all its consequent civil blessings, Sir William Petty, Sir Josiah Child, Decker, Munn, Adam Smith, Dean Tucker, and all other able political writers and economists, have pointed out the road—*through Union*.

If, beside the authority of opinion, that of example can have weight in support of an Union, we have the full benefit of experience before us in the Union after the Hepharchy, and in the Union of Wales, and Counties Palatine. We have also two other examples perhaps more striking, because more near to our own times and circumstances. In the reign of Charles II. Carolina, like Ireland on the conquest,

conquest, was given up to some Englishmen, both in *property* and *jurisdiction*. Locke, who was certainly a friend to popular liberty, though by no means a politician, perhaps because a metaphysical philosopher, was employed to compose a body of laws for their government. But notwithstanding the code of 'such an advocate for the people, distinctions, parties, and intestine commotions arose under this *secondary jurisdiction*, as the viceroyal and legislative government of Ireland now is. In order, therefore, to prevent the last ruinous consequences of these troubles, it was thought advisable to place the country under the *immediate care and inspection of the Crown*: and the like immediate care and inspection is a dire& consequence of the present Legislative Union. The other example is that of Scotland, whose distractions, divisions, and clanship ceased but with the amelioration of its government under Union, and whereby the industry of the inhabitants was awakened. So rapid and successful has its progress been since, that English ability, which surpassed Scottish ability at the period before the Union as *twenty-eight to one*, now exceeds it only as *eight to one*.*

Consequently, therefore, if Ireland looks to *Political power*, to *Civil happiness*, and *Commercial opulence*—her great charter for national and individual independence, as well as diffused riches, is *Incorporative Union*.

We have seen the consequences of Union in several instances with respect to the British Empire; let us now recur to a memorable instance of *Disunion* in the Roman Empire.

Peculiar circumstances of state, and the concealed views of the Sovereign, caused Augustus to establish a line of *disunion* between the *great mass* of the *Roman People*. But from this plan flowed the *miseries of the state*; and it finally occasioned what may be termed different sovereignties in

* See Tables B & C.

one empire under Dioclesian. This *disunion* and division produced civil wars, which did not cease till all was again consolidated into *one Union*, and under *one sovereignty*. But *disunion* again took place under Constantine, when he formed two capitals. “ There seemed to be two empires, and *in effect there were two*,” says the historian; “ *for they had SEPARATE INTERESTS*, and were *therefore no longer parts of ONE WHOLE.*” Thus the empire languished by degrees, sunk into nothing, and *died of DISUNION*. All things, continues the historian, had united for the *grandeur of the Romans*, and they re-united for its *fall*: *religious disputes*, and *civil wars*, and *corruption of manners*, and a *loss of the love of public good*, and the *defects of government*, and the *multitude of enemies*. Does not this picture of *disunion*—this separation of interests, these religious disputes, these civil wars, these corrupt manners, the *practical defects* of Irish government, and the multitude of enemies, exist in our case? God grant that the like consequences may not follow. We have indeed but one resource, one sure mode of preventing like effects; it is obviously—by dissolving like causes of destruction.

On a review of the Political, Commercial, and Civil state of Ireland, we perceive that the nature of its Imperial connexion is such, that all the art and policy of mankind have not been able to correct its vices, but have introduced new mischiefs and aggravated the old. The whole system has been an attempt to *force nature* into a compliance with prejudice, by little artificial regulations, and to overturn the great principles of policy and truth by a system of obvious, and now of experienced folly. Hence the horrid picture which the page of Irish history presents, stained with blood, and blotted by rebellions. Yet some men were lulled into a momentary dream; others too were awake in the vigil of power; but all were in a state of political *subjection*, and without independence. Had there been independ-

ence, and not a connected and commanding superiority over them, one party had long since crushed to pieces the other—as would have lately been done even by the greatness of its own ruin. For though the object held out to inflame the passions of the middle classes, and the madness of the multitude, *was apparently* the overthrow of aristocracy—in reality the object was to establish those leaders of rebellion, into a *complete aristocracy*: which they would have done even under a republic. Both, however, are despoticisms.

It may not be amiss to lay before uninformed persons some short instruction on this point of aristocracies and republics.—All ARISTOCRACIES are despoticisms, except in name: and are worse than any single despotism, because *every individual* of an aristocracy is a *tyrant*. In a despotism there may be an horrible and blood-thirsty Nero to-day; but to-morrow there may be a Vespasian, whose “POWER is but an opportunity of doing good”—(Pliny). But in an aristocracy it is not *one* heart, nor *one* head—nor *one* blow that defeats the monster: it is *many headed*; and one grows up as the other is cut off. Hence the people, in order to escape *numerous* calamities, uniformly cast themselves into the arms of a *single* despot: it was the case in Denmark.

But in REPUBLICS it is even *worse*; for there the monster has still *more* heads to devour the subjects. And the people under *republican governments* are not *politically* but PERSONALLY enslaved: it was the case in Poland. The PEOPLE are not only enslaved, but enervated and corrupted by *debauchery*, to make them willing but *base* sacrifices to TYRANNY: it was the case in Venice.

So likewise in *modern republics*, the people are held fast, and furnished with *sensuality*, as *pigs in a filthy sty*, who *wallow before slaughter*.

But

But if it be said there ~~MAY BE~~ exceptions to this tyranny of republics—we demand where are they, throughout the range of time and place since the creation, from the most diminutive to the greatest—from that of Lucca or St. Marino in Italy, or from that one in Switzerland, which contained about 1500 subjects, to Rome herself, the blustering mistress of the world. Men unfortunately take words for things. The word republic excites and bears with it the idea of freedom; but examine the thing, and it is a compound of all the elements of tyranny. If example be proof, look to the proud boast and glory of republics, to the models which all imitate, but none have equalled: and what did the refinement of a Grecian, or the solidity of a Roman republic produce? A series of tyranny and horror that disgrace the character of human nature, and which no other species of despotism but republican despotism can parallel. It was a *republic* that brought forth the *monster* who wished his *people* to have but *one neck*, that he might destroy them *all* at *one blow*. In *republics* the *PEOPLE* have, in name, general political freedom, but in reality they are *no part* in it. And as to *those* men, who are *already exalted by nature*, to greatness, and the rare *rank of talents*, what do they seek in *republics*, but dangers proportionate to their success? Let the Roman *Agricola*, counsel them if they be *virtuous*; let the chiefs of the French *republic* who have fallen by the dagger and the axe; let *Condorcet*, the miserable victim of hunger and poison, warn them if they be otherwise.

What man then so weak, or politician so wicked toward human nature, as to stand up for **ARISTOCRACY OR REPUBLICANISM**, which are *governments* calculated but to *curse mankind*? Bondage and oppression, slave and tyrant, can alone be counteracted in a monarchy, where there is eagle against eagle, and lion against lion. By vigilance against vigilance, and power against power, there arises a wise mixture of modes, which corrects and balances their authority;

they cannot be separately exerted for evil, but may jointly for good. But that they should be jointly exerted for evil is a confederacy hardly possible: for it were a joint madness for separate suicide.—It were a triumph for mourning.

There may, however, be a bedlam of a system; for such is that of Ireland, not only politically considered, but commercially and civilly. With respect to the civil state, a remedy has been proposed, by forming establishments for the education of the lower orders. This, we fear, is erroneous, and hope it may not prove dangerous. Ameliorate the condition of the people, and instruction will follow: whereas if their condition be not ameliorated, and their minds be enlightened, what ensues? They will then study those inflammatory papers which they have been desired by the United Irishmen to hang up in their cabins; and will reflect on, and be roused by such aggravated descriptions of oppression, as might make a wise man mad. Whereas, let Union open to them the sources of *national wealth*, and *individual happiness* will follow. Riches also promote public virtue, which promote private happiness; but riches, which oppose the public happiness of a people, oppose private virtue.

The source of riches instrumental to national virtue is agriculture and the arts. The quantity necessary to individual happiness, is that sufficiency arising from the daily application of eight or ten hours to procure comfortable dwellings, warm clothing, and wholesome food for themselves and families: and where the quantity of circulating cash is not, through deficiency or excess, contrary to the enjoyment and preservation of their state of prosperity.

Riches oppose the private virtue of a people, where there is excess of opulence and excess of misery; for it condemns one part of a nation to idleness, another to indigence, and both to misfortunes and vice. The people thus lose all energy, their minds become depraved through their civil state, and

and are brutalized by ignorance. Ignorance prepares them as victims for error, and error darkens and confuses whatever is good or evil for them. Ignorance first renders them insensible to advantages proposed, error next makes them abhor them, and perpetuates their misfortunes. But begin to remedy those misfortunes by changing their state, and the people will no longer through ignorance or error be instruments of civil death; but their force become a source of inexhaustible happiness, if *then* directed by reason.

Whereas to begin instruction before civil abjection be removed, is, if not dangerous, we conceive erroneous. Render the people happy, and that instruction which suits their station and capacities, will naturally follow. The man must be wholly ignorant of the progress of the human mind, who knows not the relations between public and private instruction and public opulence. Writers will inform him, that where the history of knowledge and science began, there arose the monuments of this truth. The first germs of science, natural, moral and political, developed themselves in the rich Monarchies of Egypt and Assyria. In the history of the Phœnicians, we find that this commercial people became the depositaries of the knowledge of the East, after having been the depositary of its productions. The history of Greece, and the Grecian Colonies in Italy, shews that they were the seats of commerce when they became the seats of learning. And if we pass to Rome, we shall find that the country of Fabricius had risen from its ancient poverty to hold up the great examples of a Cicero, an Horace, and a Virgil. If we return to the East, during a period nearer to our own times, we shall find that the rapid progress of knowledge under the Caliphs was in the moment that its commerce secured it a great portion of the riches of Asia, Europe, and Africa. To the Arabs we owe chymistry and medicine, and these remedies more salutary and mild than those transmitted to us by Hippocrates

or Galen. To them we owe too algebra, and the immortality of Newton: who, inspired by their first geometric measurement of the earth, scaled the heavens, lived amidst its stars, and sent down to us the laws of their revolutions, and his own immortality.

Since the beginning of time KNOWLEDGE has kept pace with wealth, extended with industry, and flourished with commerce. Such has been its progress since creation over the globe: it has thus pervaded Europe; always abandoning the poor or impoverished, and uniformly abiding and flourishing with the nations which are rich.

This is the evidence of history and example: what says reason?

The cultivation of the mind supposes a moral elevation, but there can be no such elevation where there is moral abjection; or, in other words, there can be *no* general improvement of mind or manners where there is not *happiness* and *civil independence*. Where there is poverty there will be ignorance; where there is ignorance there will be error; and where there are poverty, ignorance, and error, there will eternally be misfortunes and vice. Make the people happy, and it is easy to make them virtuous and wise; let the great be virtuous, and they will be both wise and happy.

But what is the picture presented to us in Mr. Johnson's admirable letter on the proposed Union—(p. 5, London edition)—“The history of this country, as long as its annals can be traced, furnishes no other spectacle than such as humanity must deplore, and philosophy regret.”—He then draws, with a vigorous pen, a view of the different classes in Ireland: and adds—“All the national evils, which might be supposed to flow from *such conditions*, overspread a seemingly devoted land.”—Let us now cast our eye on a similar state of Scotland before the Union. “I think I see,” said Lord Belhaven on the Union, in the true spirit of oppression, “the peerage of Scotland *divested* of their followers

followers and *vassalages*, and put on an equal footing with their own *very vassals*." But, remarked Mr. Dundas* on this passage with a wisdom at once honourable to his head and heart—" if the *Union* has *broken asunder* the **BONDS** of *feudal vassalage*, wise and virtuous men will not be disposed to consider this as an *evil consequence*." And on another prophecy of his Lordship's, Mr. Dundas observes, with a sentiment of sound policy—" Now I do see the mere *ploughman* enjoying **TREBLE WAGES** and **TREBLE COMFORTS**, while the *farmer* reaps such *profits* as enable him to live almost upon an equal footing, in every point of *social enjoyment*, with even the hereditary landed gentleman, the possessor of the soil itself."

" If it be true," (says Mr. Dundas in another passage) " as generally acknowledged, that the **POOR** of Ireland experience all the *miseries* concomitant to a state of *wretchedness*—that *liberty* which *awakened* the *commercial enterprize* of Scotland—that *liberty* which expanded its *genius* in the most *honourable* pursuits—that *liberty* which confirmed every sentiment which can *dignify* human nature, will, I am sure, have the *same happy influence* on the *people* of Ireland, connected with us by the dearest reciprocal obligations."

" If it be true," (says Mr. Pitt also) " that this measure has an inevitable tendency to admit the introduction of that British capital which is most likely to give life to all the operations of **COMMERCE**, and to all the improvements of **AGRICULTURE**; if it be that which *above all other* considerations *is most* likely to give **SECURITY**, **QUIET**, and **INTERNAL REPOSE** to Ireland: if it is likely to *remove* the *chief bar* to the internal advancement of **WEALTH** and **CIVILIZATION**, by a more intimate intercourse with England; if it is more likely to communicate from hence those habits which distinguish this country, and which, by a *continued gradation*,

* See Speech on the *Union*.

tion unite the HIGHEST and the LOWEST orders of the community WITHOUT a CHASM in any part of the system; if it is not only likely to invite (as I have already said) *English capital* to set COMMERCE in MOTION, but to offer it the use of NEW MARKETS, to open fresh resources of WEALTH and INDUSTRY; can wealth, can industry, can civilization increase among the whole bulk of the people, without much more than counterbalancing the partial effect of a removal of the few individuals, who for a small part of the year would follow the seat of legislation? If, notwithstanding the absence of parliament from Dublin, it would still remain the centre of education, and of the internal commerce of a country increasing in improvement; if it would still remain the seat of legal discussion, which must always increase with an increase of property and occupation; will it be supposed, with a view even to the interests of those whose partial interests have been most successfully appealed to; with a view either to the respectable body of the bar, to the merchant, or shopkeeper of Dublin, that they would not find their proportionate share of advantage in the general advantage of the state? Let it be remembered also, that if the transfer of the seat of legislature may call from Ireland to England the MEMBERS of the united parliament; yet, after the Union, property, influence, and consideration in Ireland will lead, as much as in Great Britain, to all the objects of imperial ambition; and there must consequently exist a NEW INCITEMENT to persons, to acquire property in that country, and to those who possess it, to reside there, and to cultivate the good opinion of those with whom they live, and to extend and improve their influence and connexions."

" But we can on this question refer to experience. Look at the metropolis of Scotland: the population of Edinburgh has been more than doubled since the Union, has increased in the proportion of between five and six to one: look at its progress in manufactures; look at its great advantages,

and

and tell me what ground there is, judging by *experience*, in aid of theory, for those *gloomy apprehensions* which have been so *industriously excited*."

With respect "to the commercial privileges now enjoyed by Ireland, and to which it owes so much of its prosperity, that they would be *less secure* than at present, I have given an answer to already, by stating, that they are *falsely imputed* to the *independence* of the Irish parliament, for they are, in *fact*, owing to the exercise of the *voluntary discretion* of the *British parliament*, *UNBOUND* by *COMPACT*, prompted only by its natural disposition, to consider the interests of Ireland as its own."

" I have seen it under the *same authority* (that of Mr. Foster, the Speaker of the Irish House of Commons, to which I am sorry so often to advert,) that the linen trade would be injured, and that there will be *no security* for its retaining its *present advantages*. I have already stated, and with *that very authority* (Mr. Foster) *IN MY FAVOUR*, that those advantages are *at present PRECARIOUS*, and that their *security* can *only* arise from *compact* with Great Britain. Such a *compact*, *this measure* would establish in the most *solemn* manner: but besides this, the *natural policy* of this country, not merely its *experienced liberality*, but the *IDENTITY* of *INTERESTS* after an Union, would offer a *security* worth a *housand compacts*.

I wish for the maintenance of connexion between the two countries, with a peculiar regard to *every thing* that can give to Ireland its *due weight* and *importance*, as a great member of the Empire. I wish for it, with a view of giving to that country the *means* of improving *all its great natural resources*, and of giving it a *full participation* of *all those blessings*, which this country so eminently enjoys."

" God grant that in this instance the *same favour* of *Divine Providence*, which has in so many instances protected this Empire, may again interpose in our favour; and that the attempts of the enemy to *separate* the two countries,

may

may tend ultimately to knit them more closely together, to strengthen a connexion, the *best* pledge for the *happiness* of both, and so add to *that power* which forms the chief *barrier* of the *civilized world*, against the *destructive* principles, the *dangerous* projects, and the **UNEXAMPLED USURPATION** of *France*."

" This connexion has been attacked not only by the *avowed* enemies of *both* countries, but by *internal* treason, acting in concert with the designs of the enemy: internal treason, which engrafted Jacobinism on *those diseases*, which *necessarily* grew out of the *state and condition* of *Ireland*."

" We see the point, in which that enemy thinks us the most assailable—Are we not then bound in policy and prudence to *strengthen* that vulnerable point, involved as we are in a contest of **LIBERTY** against **DESPOTISM**—of **PROPERTY** against **PLUNDER** and **RAPINE**—of **RELIGION** and **ORDER** against **IMPIETY** and **ANARCHY**? There *was* a time, when this would have been termed declamation, but those calamities are *attested* by the *wounds* of a *bleeding world*."

" A measure then, which must communicate to such a mighty limb of the empire as *Ireland*, *all the commercial* advantages which *Great Britain* possesses, which will open the markets of the one country to the other, which will give them both the *common use of capital*, **MUST**, by diffusing a large portion of *wealth* into *Ireland*, considerably increase the *resources*, and consequently the *strength* of the whole empire."

" But it is not merely in this *general* view that I think the question ought to be considered. We ought to look to it with a *view peculiarly* to the *permanent* interest and *security* of *Ireland*. When that country was threatened with the double danger of hostile attacks by *enemies without*, and of *treason within*, from what quarter did she derive the *means* of her *deliverance*?—from the *naval* force of *Great Britain*, from the *voluntary* exertions of her *military* of every *description*—

description—not called for by law—and from her *pecuniary* resources, added to the *loyalty* and *energy* of the inhabitants of Ireland itself: Of which it is impossible to speak with *too much* praise, and which shews how well they deserve to be called the **BRETHREN OF BRITONS.**"

What, then, are the advantages derivable from this measure to Ireland?—"They are, says Mr. Pitt, the *protection* which she will *secure* herself in the **HOUR OF DANGER**—the most *effectual* means of *increasing* her **COMMERCE**, and *improving* her **AGRICULTURE**; the *command* of **ENGLISH CAPITAL**; the *infusion* of **ENGLISH MANNERS**, and **ENGLISH INDUSTRY**, necessarily tending to *ameliorate* her **CONDITION**, to *accelerate* the *progres* of *internal CIVILIZATION*, and to *terminate* those **FEUDS** and **DISSENSIONS**, which now *distraet* the country, and which she does not possess within herself the **POWER** to *extinguish*. She would see the **avenue** to **HONORS**, to **DISTINCTIONS**, and **EXALTED SITUATIONS**, in the *general seat of Empire* opened to **ALL** those, whose **ABILITIES**, and **TALENTS** enable them to indulge an *honourable* and *laudable* *ambition*."

With an anxious wish, therefore, for the exaltation of Ireland, in *independence*, *commerce*, and its *civil state*, we conclude by giving it as our deliberate opinion, on the grounds before stated, that if an *Union* does not take place, the nation will be reduced to a most wretched condition. Their only manufacture of *linen* will be inevitably lost; their *corn trade* will be at an end; and the gentlemen of estates will consequently turn off their tenants, because they will not be able to pay their rents. They will then become *farmers* themselves to feed their own *sheep* and *cattle*; there will then be left but a few miserable *cottagers* to watch those *cattle*, and *Ireland* will soon become a *country* like that of the *savage Tartars*. The *farmer* must *rob*, *beg*, or *leave the country*; the *merchant* must become *poor* and *bankrupt*, and the *shopkeeper* must *break* and *starve*. Therefore, may

our fellow subjects in Ireland be wise, and stand to this measure of an Union one and all—Protestants and Catholics, it is the great charter of your political salvation—you are bound to it by the love which you owe your country, your religion, and yourselves: you are bound to it by the laws of God and nature, and by ALL your DUTIES as men. The staunch and approved friends of *Irish liberty*, such as *Molyneux* was, have been friends of this measure. The majority of the most WISE and VIRTUOUS men of past ages and the present day, and the well-known friends of the poor of Ireland, have been and are the advisers of this Union. Those also, who have the greatest interest at stake in the welfare of Ireland, and those who have the greatest property in land, are decidedly the supporters of it. The great majority of the peers, and nearly an equality of the commons, except about half a dozen, may well be called the *majority* of the property and of the parliament of Ireland: and these, together with his GRACIOUS MAJESTY, the FATHER of his PEOPLE, are the friends and advisers of this Union. With such authority and support as this, and with all the proofs which we have brought forward upon this question, we caution you that your *farmers* may not be forced to beg, rob, or leave the country; that your *manufacturers* may not perish; that your *merchants* may not become bankrupts; that your *shopkeepers* may not break and starve—we caution you as you love your religion and your country, and as your wives and children are dear to you, to beware of being made tools by such men against an Union, as would for their own purposes dupe and deceive you into ruin. We caution also the cabinet of Great Britain, as they value the fate of Ireland, not to be deceived by the clamours and complaints of those men.

A P P E N D I X.

T A B L E A.

Estimate of the losses sustained by Europe through the means of the French Republic.

[The losses of men and the expenses of the war are not included here; as England alone has spent many million pounds sterling.]

	Livres.	£. Sterling.
Total amount of requisitions and contributions, as specified	3,582,267,681	143,290,707
Loss of the Dutch by the Bankruptcies of the Great Nation	1,920,000,000	76,800,000
Unvalued property; as plate of the churches, maintenance of the armies, palaces, houses, national domains, property of the emigrants in the conquered countries, fortifications, ceded territories, their regular revenues, &c. &c.	20,000,000,000	800,000,000
Enormous amount of assignats, mandats, &c. poured out amongst mankind, whereby millions of credulous people were deceived.—Fifty milliards of assignats; whereof (including what was lost by foreigners in the public funds one-third may be taken in calculation	16,666,666,666	666,666,667
A great number of large and small American vessels, taken without a declaration of war, by piracy, which amount in number to more than one thousand; and valuing each with its cargo at only one thousand pounds, the amount is	25,000,000,	1,000,000
A number of vessels taken from the other neutral powers together	100,000,000	4,000,000
N. B. We do not reckon the losses of Great Britain and Ireland in commercial vessels, as the French have lost more than their amount in ships of war.		
Total loss of Europe in money, goods, and territory*	42,293,934,347	1,691,757,374

* ROME, Oct. 8, 1798.—A new forced Loan of 600,000 Piastras was levied by the new government: which is about three millions of Livres, or £25,000 l. sterling.

Should any one find this calculation over-rated, he will please to consider that all the countries conquered by the French nation were the most rich, populous, industrious, and fruitful parts of the Continent, and that this turbulent Republic has at present nearly a third part of Europe under her command. She has so rounded and fortified herself, that she is enabled to keep all nations in a state of perpetual agitation.

T A B L E B.

General Trade of Scotland.

Year.	Imports.			Exports.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
1697	91,302	16	10	73,203	6	0
1699	86,309	19	1	66,303	15	8
1701	73,988	18	11	56,802	2	2
1702	71,428	18	11	58,688	2	2
1703	76,448	8	3	57,338	15	5
1704	54,379	16	8	87,536	9	8
1705	57,902	12	0	50,035	13	2
1706	50,309	0	10	60,313	3	7
1707	6,733	1	8	47,779	0	1

Thus then stands the account of the last memorable year :

Imports,	-	-	6,733	1	8
Exports,	-	-	47,779	0	0
<hr/>					
	£.	54,512	1	9	

Whereas now the single town of Paisley, sends to Leipsic fair, about nearly eight times that amount ; and the trade of Scotland, as before stated, produced in 1796, above fifty times that amount. Such is Union ! But let men examine also, whereto is the trade of Ireland ; is it not almost solely to Great Britain ? And whereto is the trade of Scotland, at this moment ? — To all the universe. Union has presented her with the key of British Commerce, and opened for her the harbours of the globe. So will union of interests, capital, and skill, operate in favour of Ireland.

T A B L E C.

An account of the Commerce with those places whereto Scotland has traded, during one year, at various periods, since the Union.

Places.	Year.	Imports.	Exports.	Total.
Denmark & Norway	1765	£ 34,204	£ 47,502	£ 81,706
Sweden	1792	49,063	5,261	54,324
Russia	1796	465,243	43,611	508,854
Poland	1784	57,739	2,294	60,033
Prussia	1795	69,617	3,808	73,425
Germany	1796	89,703	80,225	169,928
Holland	1744	110,015	421,617	531,632
Flanders	1782	92,300	65,559	157,859
France	1772	3,313	472,175	475,488
Portugal	1796	59,934	5,507	65,441
Madeira	1791	2,875	14,474	17,349
Spain	1774	10,785	67,478	78,263
Canaries	1766	2,620	437	3,057
Minorca	1770	—	2,059	12,707
Majorca	1778	648	—	
Gibraltar	1795	43	5,398	5,381
Italy	1791	19,777	15,095	34,772
Ireland	1790	370,449	328,230	698,689
Isle of Man	1795	1,044	6,228	7,332
Alderney	1772	—	—	20
Jersey	1782	1,230	—	1,230
Greenland	1787	—	—	34,520
New England	1765	29,754	17,404	47,158
New York	1796	21,059	171,502	192,561
Pensylvania	1771	20,048	18,725	38,773
Maryland & Virginia	1771	548,528	303,400	851,928
North & S. Carolina	1789	43,071	41,667	84,738
Georgia	1780	—	28,092	—
				Newfoundland

Places.	Year.	Imports.	Exports.	Total.
Newfoundland	1793	1,352	23,262	24,614
Canada	1794	2,240	35,493	37,733
Nova Scotia	1797	1,457	126,136	127,593
Island of St. John's	1770	1,208	562	1,770
Bermudas	1783	3,861	9,089	12,950
Bahamas	1795	20,005	16,959	36,964
Turk's Island	1769	812	—	—
Florida	1779	—	104,219	—
Honduras Bay	1774	29,444	108	29,552
Antigua	1770	65,660	8,141	73,801
Barbadoes	1791	64,434	22,015	86,449
Dominica	1793	3,817	6,112	9,929
Grenada	1792	111,518	120,372	234,890
Jamaica	1794	86,034	304,283	390,317
Montserrat	1764	8,344	1,800	10,144
Nevis	1793	17,610	—	—
St. Kitt's	1780	45,049	99,030	144,079
St. Vincent	1792	38,206	5,989	44,195
Tortola	1782	32,097	24,098	56,195
Tobago	1796	35,211	7,895	43,106
St. Lucia	1782	16,606	54,778	71,384
St. Cruze	1775	19,847	—	—
Guadaloupe	1763	9,924	3,190	13,114
Cuba	1779	25,896	—	—
St. Eustatia	1781	22,221	—	—
Martinico	1794	18,039	8,745	26,784
Hispaniola	1779	7,448	—	—
St. Martin	1790	1,315	—	—
St. Thomas	1792	17,651	—	—
Curassoa & Demerara	1792	10,318	—	—
America, in general	1760	475,704	350,540	815,244
Africa	1766	—	4,088	—
Trinidad	1796	17,259	8,685	25,944

Let Ireland examine well this detail of Commercial intercourse.
 Let the aggregate amount of this Commerce, during one year at each

each place, be duly considered. These are proofs which bring home conviction upon facts, and display through the incontrovertible evidence of figures, what have been the results of Union to Scotland. Since, therefore, such are the consequences to a country, without those natural capabilities from local advantages, or from animal, mineral, and vegetable resources; what has not Ireland solid reason to expect, being so eminently distinguished with such extraordinary superiorities, if once enjoying an equality of civil and political capacities? Madness, indeed, and not simple prejudice must rule the hour—did not some mental contagion prevail, of which the great philosopher Bacon speaks, men could not pause a moment upon the measure of an Union. In our conscience, we think that those who oppose it, are downright enemies to Ireland; they are enemies to its suffering cottagers, its starving poor, its miserable manufacturers: they are enemies to the landholders and the merchant: they are enemies to their torn and bleeding country, and to themselves,—though not intentionally to any of these. But we do believe them to be eventually, and radically, overthrowing the throne and the altars of their country.

*Comparative View of Scotland before and since the Union, on
Shipping, Trade, Revenues, and Populations.*

(Taken from Mr. Dundas's Speech, page 20.)

SHIPPING. In 1692 8,618 Tons.

	1792	162,284	—
In Leith	1692	1,702	—
do.	1795	18,468	—

LINEN TRADE. 1700 1,000,000 Yards

1796	23,000,000	—
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REVENUES. Customs at the Union £. 34,000

In 1798	284,577
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Excise at the Union	33,500
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In 1798	851,775
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POPULATION. In 1755 1,265,000

1795	15,34,000
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In Glasgow, from the years, 1701 to 1710	14,790
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In 1798	77,042
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Progression

T A B L E D.

*Progression of the Commerce of Ireland with Great Britain,
during a Century.*

TOTAL AMOUNT.

Years.		L.	s.	d.	
1697	-	475,175	12	2	Before Independence, or free Trade.
1780	-	826,855	3	9	
1763	-	2,706,352	8	6	
1777	-	3,854,775	5	2	
1782	-	3,415,472	7	6	After do.
1784	-	3,412,553	7	6	
1789	-	4,719,500	9	8	Since the present Ad- ministration.
1792	-	4,999,599	19	11	
1794	-	5,230,376	11	1	
1796	-	5,661,949	16	8	

The trade of Ireland has increased, in one century, about fifteen fold. From 1777, which was two years before the date of Irish Independence, to 1784, being a term of seven years, and which comes down *lower* than the date of her independence and Free-Trade, her commerce did *not* increase. But, its rapid augmentation *since* 1784 has arisen from another cause, totally distinct from her Independence or Free Trade, and which the latter would have never procured, more than the former. That cause was the wonderful growing commerce of Britain, since 1784, which we shall shew hereafter. Ireland has prospered with the prosperity of Great Britain, and appears bright by a reflected light—but which so dazzles the weak-sighted, that they mistake its original and true source. It is not Irish Independence, however: it is not her Free Trade—make her as free as she came out of chaos, cut asunder every filament of connexion—Where will then be her millions of Trade? What will she then

find in her theoretic independence or practical freedom ? Short sighted, indeed, are those men, who do not distinguish the true source of Ireland's aggrandisement—It is British connexion—it is British prosperity, under whose beams Ireland has thriven. We may view further proofs of her prosperity under a connexion, which no other nation on the Globe could afford her, by the progressive increase of her Shipping, during the last century.

In 1698	-	120,728 tons
— 1745	-	181,805 do. the middle space.
— 1793	-	678,530 do.

Thus we see that the increase in the first half is about sixty thousand tons; whereas, in the last half, it is near 500,000 tons. And here we should observe also, that this extraordinary increase dates itself from the increase of British Trade since 1784.

It appears above, that the tonnage was

In 1698	-	120,728 tons
— 1783	-	413,827 —
— 1793	-	678,530 —

Consequently the increase since 1783, approaches nearly, during the last ten years, to the increase, during the whole preceding period of the century. And that this did by no means whatever arise from Independence, or the Free Trade of Ireland, we have incontrovertibly shewn before, by proofs drawn from the Linen trade of Great Britain with Ireland and other countries, and to which we refer.

It appears also, from the universal trade of Britain, that Ireland has, since her Free Trade, kept but a *general* pace of increase with other countries, and therefore, that she has no *particular* cause in herself for that increase; but that it exists solely and altogether, in the unparalleled augmentation of *British* commerce since that period. We shall refer, for further proof, to the scale of British commerce, whereby Ireland will perceive, that the barometer of Irish prosperity is British prosperity.

T A B L E E.

*Comparative Sketch of the Commerce of Great Britain,
during a Century.*

In the year 1697.

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
Imports,	3,482,586	10	5				
Exports,	3,525,906	8	11				
	—————				£.	s.	d.
					Total	7,008,492	19 4

In the year 1783.

	£.
Imports,	13,122,235
Exports,	14,681,494
	————— Total £. 27,803,729

Thus it appears, that the *increase* of Commerce, from before the close of the last century, to the year of the commencement of the present administration, amounted to about, we may say, *twenty millions* and an half. Now let us see, what is the Commerce at this day.

In the year 1798.

	£.
Imports,	25,654,000
Exports,	33,800,000
	————— Total £. 59,454,000

Hence, therefore, it is manifest, beyond the possibility of doubt or contradiction, that the Commerce of Great Britain has increased, since the year 1783, to the amount of above twenty-one millions and an half: that is, since the commencement of the present administration, English commerce has **INCREASED a million more** than in the whole *preceding* period of the century.

The amount of the Commerce of 1798, is stated above according to the *official* value; but the **REAL** value as *given in* and *paid for*, on account of convoy, by the Merchants, is as follows:

	£.
Imports,	46,963,230
Exports,	48,000,056
Commerce of 1798,	94,963,286

☞ The benefit of this unparalleled Commerce, and the participation of all its happy effects upon National Opulence, Agriculture, and Manufactures, are now open to Ireland by Union.

THE END.

THE
HABITANTS OF DUBLIN,
PEOPLE,

HINTS,

&c. &c.

THE EFFECTS OF AN UNION ON THE TRADE AND
PROPERTY OF DUBLIN ARE INVESTIGATED.

BY WILLIAM STEPHEN, Esq. &c. &c.

DUBLIN

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR, BY JAMES WILKINSON.

2 ТИЛІН

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1933-го

Сімейній альбом
Даріи Олімпіївни
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H I N T S

HINTS
TO

THE PEOPLE,

THE PEOPLE,

ESPECIALLY TO

THE INHABITANTS OF DUBLIN:

Volume I of the French Constitutionalists, 1793, that their Revolution was the result of a very
peculiar, against our own, prejudice and ~~hostile~~
~~hostile~~. Whatever might have been in their view
THE EFFECTS OF AN UNION ON THE TRADE AND
PROPERTY OF DUBLIN ARE INVESTIGATED.

BY WILLIAM STEVENS, Esq. L. L. D.

You should not have to wait long for
the publication of the second volume of this work,
which will be ready in a few days. The author
has given a full account of the effects of the
DUBLIN:

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THE INHABITANTS OF THE

H I N T S
TO
THE PEOPLE,
&c. &c.

SOME of the French Constitutionalists said, that their Revolution was the conflict of every principle against every prejudice and every abuse. Whatever might have been in their sense the justice of the remark, it seems critically applicable to the great change which is at present in contemplation in this country.

My opinion is favourable to that change, provided the terms be advantageous; and so far as the outline of the terms have been communicated to the public, I see no reason to find fault with them.

You should not listen to terms, say persons whose views will be incommoded if the Union take place. These gentlemen are without doubt very judicious in their proposal. Great-Britain is sensible that a permanent settlement of the affairs of Ireland, is essential to the well-being of

of the empire. She is willing to procure that settlement, upon conditions to which it is the interest of Ireland to accede. They of course, wisely enough for their own purpose, raise such a clamour about national right and independence, as may prevent the question of terms from coming fairly before the public. To oppose this idle outcry, and correct the possible ill effects of it, is the duty of every man who thinks that it may prove a salutary measure for the Irish people to incorporate the Legislatures, as we have united the Crowns, of Great-Britain and Ireland.

The first right of social man is to be made happy, and if a form of government does not confer happiness, be it never so illustrious by diadems and independence, I would reject it.

Nay, in some respects independence may be an injury. Let us for instance take the territory of Liege, where the people were very vain of their nationality. The government was mild, but like most small states, and all ecclesiastical ones, extremely inert. Its subjects were, for want of encouragement, in a condition of very squalid poverty. As the force of the state was not sufficiently powerful, to render either its enmity or neutrality respectable, the country of Liege was sure, in every continental war, to be overrun and ravaged. Now if Liege, instead of being a diminutive independence, constituted part of a considerable monarchy, holding its seat of government at the Hague or at Brussels, is it to be questioned, that the people would derive eminent advantages from the alteration? In the first

first place; a superior force would be employed to protect them from foreigners; and in the next, their Sovereign would be obliged, by his situation, to take a part in the affairs of Europe; and as his interference would require expence, he should establish his own resources, by encouraging industry and thrifty habits among his people.

But how does this example apply to Ireland? Only so far as it goes to shew, that under certain circumstances the pride of National independence may be a morbid, an unpatriotic, and of course a vicious sentiment. This seems particularly to have been the case in Poland, where the *rights of Gentlemen* were set up, under the name of national honor and independence, in opposition to the welfare of the people, of the lower orders especially. Is there not a little of the Polish principle in this vehement anti-union patriotism, we meet in Dublin? In all that has been said or written on that side of the question, I have not seen a single calculation of profit or loss to the common people.

The constitution of Ireland, which we are called upon to declare immutable, does in truth appear, under a specious exterior, to be the most defective of any form of government that ever yet pretended to have civil liberty for its object. Ireland to be sure, is an independent state; but then, her independence having no effect on the politics of the world, and being confined merely to a certain form and locality of legislating, is of so odd a cast, that if we were silent on

on the subject ourselves, all the rest of mankind might totally overlook it.

The Parliament of Westminster is known, and its importance felt throughout the world; it owes this notoriety to the circle of its discussions. But really, I believe there is not any extravagance in this assertion, that except here, and in the sister country, not a man on earth takes the trouble to enquire by what power the laws are made which bind Ireland. It is perhaps a matter of as little speculation as the variance in the teste and seal, between writs issued for the realm of England, and those which run into the counties Palatine:—To return to our Constitution.

In external appearance, our form of government resembles that established in Great-Britain, practically no two institutions can be more different. The same means and organs of Government produce effects directly contrary.

The British Parliament contains the principal persons of the landed, monied and commercial interests. Thus the Crown comes into contact with the most important descriptions in the state, who reciprocally influence and are influenced by the Sovereign. In the latter case, the King only preserves his proper ascendant in the councils of the country; in the former the administration of public affairs receives a direction favourable to the welfare of the nation,

tion. The interests of these descriptions run exactly in parallel lines with those of the people, neither can prosper separately.

That is not the case, at least, not universally, with the persons who constitute the Irish legislature. The major part of our public men are taken from a second class; the natural leaders of the country being in a great degree non-resident.

As the first situations devolve upon men of secondary pretensions, the places of these are again supplied by persons of a third and fourth rate of figure; and so every order is irregularly removed from its proper station. The commercial interest has nothing to do with Parliament; the monied very little; that portion of the great landed proprietors who have remained in the kingdom, are overpowered and lost in the unnatural Aristocracy they are mixed with. The crown is influenced, but it is in favour of private interests; of men who have no common sympathies with the public. A proprietary body is affected by the most minute mismanagement in the external concerns of the nation, in its temper, in its habits, in its opportunities; property, whether it be in stock or in land, will decline in value, when the affairs of the country get into disorder. An office-aristocracy with fixed emoluments, have only to apprehend a revolution, and from that danger the power of Great Britain is sufficient to protect them. Let me ask, is that a sound constitution which is formed of much materials?

If the government were conducted under a proprietary influence, its first impulse would be to soothe and cultivate the people;—there would be no great men encouraging feuds and factions, in order to rise upon the shoulders of some, or to make a profit of putting down others. We would not see people perplexing the order of things, that they may be paid for disentangling them. The risk is too serious: That game will only be played by those, who possessing power without a relative proportion of property, employ the one advantage to attract the other. Like a mechanic, who will put a bad wheel in your watch, that you may often come to his shop, to have it repaired. This is not the trick of eminent tradesmen.

From these facts and principles, all the practical inconveniences in our system of government may be explained and accounted for. The fault to be sure is in the absence of the principal men of fortune, who permit a less eligible description to seize the ground which they were designed to occupy. But no matter, we, the people, suffer; we are afflicted with a course of politics at once expensive and pernicious. The administration must submit to jobbing and manœuvres; for it is constrained to act through the medium of men, who do not think such practices beneath them. We are in the condition of a soldier, who is not only flogged, but put under stoppage, to pay for the cat-o-nine tails.

As our Legislature has thus an original defect, as it is insuperably difficult to form a better, and yet impossible to dispense with any, is it not our wisest course to incorporate our Parliament

Parliament with that of Great Britain? The least sound part of ours may then without hesitation be retrenched, and that which remains, will be corrected, by being blended with a body formed upon better principles, and habituated to a more dignified and purer course of practice.

Are there no men of mere speculation in the British Parliament? I am aware of the question. There are several, neither actually, nor by close relationship connected with the highly propertied classes. The difference consists in this. The political expectants constitute in Ireland the greater part, and infinitely the more active, they communicate their character to the entire body; in England they are few and assimilate to the majority.—

“ *Sublata causa tollitur effectus.*”—This is a sound old rule. There is certainly a good deal of public evil in this kingdom. If we have traced the source of the mischief rightly, that is, to the circumstance of power being unnaturally lodged in the hands of subordinate persons, then we may well suppose the remedy to consist, in remitting these gentlemen back to their proper rank of squires, to the care of their estates, to the duties of their offices, of their professions, to the management of their private affairs in general.

This measure it is said, will create great and universal discontent—That point is to be considered.

It will disoblige the Bankers. And truly well it may; but I doubt whether those gentlemen will get many to join them in their miff, when the motives of it come to be considered.

It

It is astonishing what profit is made by the low credit of the Irish government. Mr. Pitt always borrows at a lesser rate of interest than we do. During the present war we have raised money sometimes at three per cent. sometimes at two more than it would have cost, if it had been procured on the credit of the Imperial government. Sometimes the disproportion was more extravagant. Set down on a rough guess, ten millions as the sum borrowed for the exigence of the war, and let us average at two per cent, the difference of interest. This on ten millions amounts to 200000. per year. Thus if we had, since the expences of the contry encreased, borrowed on the credit of the Empire, there would have been a saving of two hundred thousand pounds per annum, which might either remain in the purses of the subjects, or be applied to any public purposes. This enormous loss goes to the debit of our independence. It is in no wise strange, that men who deal in money, should be desirous to take a turn at these extravagant profits, and with that view, that they should wish to keep the credit of the country low. A separate government is the likeliest method to ensure occasionally a separate loan. The people are not their objects.

It will displease the Merchants:—That I deny. The capital merchants not only of the out-ports, but of Dublin, are disposed to incorporate with England, provided, the interest of trade be secured by the conditions. They know that commerce cannot thrive among Orange-men and United-men, nor any where without the protection of a strong government; they know that the

the government must be more efficient in proportion as the people are more prone to dissensions: Just as constable must be furnished with better means than his staff of office, that he may keep the peace when the parish is riotous.

It is true, a fag end, a pitiful minority in numbers and consequence of the trade of Dublin, did at the mansion house agree to certain resolutions, dictated to them by the mover and seconder.* These I consign to the fraternal embrace of the Aldermen of Skinner's alley. The resolutions of both are entitled to an equal degree of consideration.

The corporations of Dublin.—For every motive that a merchant has to desire a well ordered government, the leaders of these bodies have a counter inducement to protract the duration of a system, that necessarily leads to turbulence. Many a snug thing falls to the share of men enjoying city honours, which would not be the case, if the administration and the people were in a perfect good understanding. We have sometimes heard of blow-coals in families, who kept husband and wife at variance, for the sake of little pickings to the confidant.

These corporations have been so much accustomed to cry out without occasion, that at length no body minds them. It is now exactly six years since they pledged their lives and fortunes, with

the

* It is necessary to remark, that the merchants of Dublin and the guild of merchants are very different bodies.

the same degree of mock importance, against granting the franchise of election to the Catholics.

The counties adjacent to Dublin. We know how their pulse beats. Their bowels are moved by the possible fate not of College-green, but of Smithfield. I shall drop a word of consolation to the graziers and hay-farmers of Meath and Dublin before I conclude, which will I trust put them again into good humour.

Would an Union diminish the splendour of Dublin? I think not. Would it increase the number of absentees? I answer equally in the negative.

There is a very pretty author on this subject, Mr. Jebb, who has made very plausible calculations. I own I was at first taken with them, until I found that he reasoned like the country girl, who proposed to sell her eggs and buy a calf and then a cow, and then become a great lady, but a slight chuck to the bowl of eggs made the speculative vision vanish.

In humble imitation of Mr. Jebb, I will try my hand at calculation, if it were only to swell my book for the profit of my bookseller.

That gentleman supposes that 610,000l. per annum would be added to the sums drawn by absentees.

Every body knows no such annual sums could be remitted in specie; it should be sent in commodities.

modities which, even granting him his argument, would leave a drawback to the amount of the profits of the several hands they passed through.

It is a notorious fact, that almost every man who can afford to live in England, does so at present. And many who cannot afford the expence of an English residence, subject themselves to it in these times, on account of the disturbed state of this country.

Are there five men, not in office, whose establishments amount to 10,000l. per annum each, who do not spend a principal part of that income in England, and who do not very much keep their families there.

I grant that this class would be settled, more than they actually are, in England, but a greater number of them would also occasionally reside in Ireland. They would be constrained so to do in order to cultivate county interests, and secure their returns to the Imperial Parliament. This would be one counterbalance to the increase of absentees.

Another would be, that if the country was quiet, all the persons of middling fortune, who lead a rambling life among the English watering places, without any political view whatsoever, would return to Ireland, where they could enjoy the conveniencies of life so much cheaper. Three thousand pounds per year must be taken in this sense, as a middling fortune, because it is inadequate, at the present high rate of luxurious conveniencies,

veniences, to keep up a fashionable establishment in England.

Every man having an estate in Ireland, may be said to be 25 per cent. out of pocket by living in Great Britain; and now I shall further enforce the fallacy of Mr. Jebb's calculation.

His first item, in the charge of 610,000l. consists of 100 gentlemen not in Parliament, who are to go away in disgust. He rates each at 1500l. per annum. Let us see what figure a person of that income would make in England :

					£. 1500
Loss on exchange and agency may be moderately laid at 10 per cent.				£. 150	
Mismanagement of the estate, in consequence of the proprietor's absence, 5 per cent.	—	—	75		225
					—
			225		1275
British tax on income 10 per cent	—	—		127	10
					—
				1147	10
All such luxuries as an equipage, an elegant house, &c. are at least one third higher in England than in this country—deduct for that third	—	—	—	382	10
Remains	—	—	—	765	
					Thus,

Thus, when he has removed to England, your Irish gentleman of 1500l. income, is reduced to live no better than his neighbour, who has remained at home upon 765l. It is fortunate that calculating, like cudgelling, is a game that two can play at.

As to the Members of the House of Commons, there again the statement is specious and inaccurate.

The number of Absentees may be augmented somewhat, by sending members to the imperial Parliament ; but for this reason the increase will not be considerable. The great land-owners, who live in England, will seek to represent the counties in which their estates are situated. They do not at present solicit that trust, for it would be inconvenient for them to attend to it. A Seymour will represent the county of Antrim, a Grenville the Queen's county or Westmeath, a Cavendish the county Cork, a Wyndham the county Clare. Many of the absentees have at present no intercourse with Ireland, but what arises from receiving their rents and making leases ; they will then be brought completely into contact with the popular interest in the several counties ; and in their affluence there is a security against venality, the very best which it is possible to procure.

With regard to the Peerage,—There are not 25 temporal Peers who at present attend their duty in Parliament, and take a part in public concerns. Of those who do, many hold offices, the duties of which render their presence frequently

quently necessary in Ireland. A good many live on their estates and never attend Parliament. It is utterly unintelligible, what should induce these noblemen to break up their old habits, and run away to England, because a Parliament with which they never intermeddled, has ceased to sit in Dublin.

Are the inhabitants of the new streets and great squares of Dublin, mere men of fashion, mere members of Parliament? I affirm they are not. Perhaps one-fifth of these inhabitants may consist of unemployed families, who live in Dublin, as a place where an elegant establishment is most cheaply supported. The remainder are men of profession, men in office, opulent merchants. How could their residence in Dublin be affected by the sitting of Parliament?

There are about 200 attending members of both houses. They sit during three months in the year for the dispatch of business. About three-fourths of them are men holding public employments, or barristers, whose occupations necessarily fix their residence in Dublin. Their session happens to concur, in point of time, with the season of general resort to the metropolis, but does not occasion it. In the dreary part of winter the country grows inconvenient to families in easy circumstances. There are no large towns for their accommodation, in one direction between Dublin and Kilkenny, in a second to Londonderry and Belfast, in a third to Galway, in a fourth to Cork and Limerick. They of course repair to this city. This is the history

history of the influx to the capital of Ireland; it will continue exactly so long as persons, who require amusement, find here plays, balls and card parties, and not one moment longer. The number who come to Dublin to hear the debates of the House of Commons, or even those who come to solicit the favor of government, would not fill up one week's demand in the shops and markets of this city. This latter description cannot be very affluent.

I do pretend, that in the consequences of an Union, there is not ground to apprehend a diminution of the fashionable resort to Dublin; on the contrary, the city will be recruited and extended so soon as our political squabbles are put to rest, by the return of our own middling gentry, and by the additional number of merchants, whom the increase of trade will enable to live splendidly.

It has been ostentatiously thrown out in the course of this controversy, that there was no ground to expect an accession of capital, because we had so long an unrestrained commerce, and yet strangers had not been induced to speculate in the trade of Ireland. Does not the very argument suggest a question that resolves it? How has it happened that so much property has, from the unsettled state of Europe, been dancing up and down in search of an asylum, yet not a guinea ventured to Ireland.

It is not possible to adduce a stronger piece of evidence in proof of the unfavourable opinion persons out of this country entertained of our Constitution. Our geographical situation is ad-

vantageous to trade ; there was no restriction on our commerce, except what arose from the want of funds to traffic on. Never since the overthrow of the Roman empire did so many wealthy individuals abandon their accustomed residence, drawing with them a vast mass of the opulence of the continent. All this time we were throwing out our baits and lures. We offered privileges. We extended the facility of naturalization farther than any European government. All would not do, the fugitive foreigners continued as contumacious as the herrings, whom the late Mr. Conyngham's bills could not allure to the coast of Donegal. Every man, who considered the affairs of Ireland, foresaw that the settlement of 1782 could never stand—that things must come to a separation or an Union ; and people stood aloof until the burst was over.

They saw a misunderstanding, serious and founded upon system, upon design and upon habits, between the makers of these laws and the public. If they inspected the Police of the country, they saw, at a little distance from the seat of Government, a relaxed discipline, which if it did not invite to acts of disorder, did not certainly repress the tendency to commit them.

They must have seen that neither this negligence in preventing crimes, nor the severity practised in avenging them, were accidental ; for there were men who lived upon the defamation of their country, making a merit to government of their importance in the

management

management of a people who were capable of such offences, and required to have subordination enforced by such examples.

To be sure, no person of ordinary prudence would commit his property under a settlement so imperfect, and an administration so irregular. The government was fettered by an oligarchy, who with all its forms of independence, daily alienated the subjects. Now let this question go to the opponents of the intended settlement. Have three years elapsed out of the last sixteen without very decisive proofs given by our people of ill-humour at their institutions?

Such of us, who drank claret by our fire-sides in Dublin,* and looked no further, possibly did not see much of it, nor even of the general bad system under which we were placed. Just as a man inhabiting a smoaky room becomes insensible to the defect, but his neighbour perceives instantly that he breathes an horrid atmosphere.

It

* Counsellor Saurin is surely of this number. He indeed is reported to have gone further, and said at the Bar-meeting that Ireland prospered for five hundred years past. A little hyperbole of this kind must suggest a wonder, that Irish beef and potatoes have not been able in a couple of generations to phlegmatize his Gallic vivacity. Again he ventures a second time out of Chancery, let me recommend to him the perusal of some history of Ireland for the last two centuries.

It does not follow, because we had no accession of foreign capital, under a system which every man out of Ireland censured, that we should be equally unable to procure that advantage, when we have formed our institutions upon a principle which every writer on the affairs of Ireland has recommended.

Certainly unless Great Britain be dissatisfied with our political situation a good deal of property will in the course of things, find its way from thence into this island.

Here are the reasons of this conclusion.—Mr. Pitt lately stated, that the capital actually engaged in the trade of Great Britain amounts to 90,000,000l. sterling. From another quarter * equally authentic, we know that the property of Britain increases 20,000,000l. sterling annually.

The property in the funds is worth about 400,000,000l. sterling.

The enormous profit upon this capital is now absorbed by the loans, for the service of the war. That issue will be closed upon a peace. Money will consequently regorge in the market.

The sinking fund consists of four millions per year, which are regularly applied, and annually increased by compound interest. On the establishment of peace much larger sums will be appropriated to this purpose.

The

* Meeting of Bankers and Merchants in London, in the beginning of this session.

The interest of money will then of necessity sink to the lowest rate possible. Its fall to two and an half per cent. would not be extraordinary.

From this diminution of income, monied men will run into commercial enterprize, and as the trade of Britain is already very full, their next object for the employment of their capital must be Ireland, provided they be not repelled, as hitherto they have been, by an unfavourable opinion of our constitution. We have observed Englishmen embark under the despotism of Russia, in preference to the humoursome people and jealous oligarchy of independent Ireland. I merely state a fact, without any invidious allusion whatsoever.

Now if the people of Ireland be more employed, they will of course have more money to lay out, they will demand more articles of consumption from abroad, and send more goods out of the kingdom to procure them. It is not, that the sum of benefits here set out, are to be of partial operation. The entire country will be unavoidably improved, but in the general good, the share of Dublin must be eminent.—First, from its convenience to London, and its established intercourse with that city, which must ever continue to this town a decided preference in all money transactions.—Secondly, its contiguity to those parts of England, where manufactures, and indeed every branch of trade, principally flourish, render it the most ready depot for the articles of British produce, requisite to the consumption of Ireland.—And, thirdly, Dublin commands a great extent of

of country ; from Kilkenny, for example, to Athlone ; and from thence again to Newry ; together with the direct line from each of these places to this city. All which district cannot so commodiously, for export or supply, use any other harbour.

In a late publication on statistical politics, Mr. Fred. J. Falkiner's address to the electors of the county, the growth of Dublin is gravely attributed to the annual session of Parliament. It is not unusual on a slight view of concurrent circumstances, to ascribe one to the other, as a fly perched upon a wheel claims the merit of moving it.

Such improvement as the nation in general has made, may be easily attributed, as to the North, to the increased demand for linen both in the home and American markets ; and as to the South, to the removal of the disabilities upon the Catholics. And what has our oligarchical Parliament to do with these measures ? It had no concern with the first, and was an unwilling instrument of the second ; for the concession to the Catholics in 1779, like that of 1793, was carried by the strong influence of the British Government. In the beginning of that very session, a bill to the same effect, introduced by the present Prime Serjeant, was indignantly rejected. The industrious inhabitants of three provinces, in which there was scarcely any occupation known besides the culture of land, were by the most degrading and improvident of all laws, declared incapable of any property in the subject of their industry.— This perversion of legislative power was, in 1779, with

with difficulty corrected. From that hour we may date the increased prosperity of Ireland; and that of Dublin, which must at all times keep equal pace with the welfare of the country, in this instance did rather more. Far be it from me to disparage the motives of the late Lord Mountjoy, the ostensible author of the measure; but he could not have pursued a wiser project for the improvement of his estates. Dublin was especially affected by that wholesome alteration. For numbers of the middling Catholics, who had idle money, so soon as they could take satisfactory leases, ran on house building; and many of the more rich, were induced by the security of tenure, to lay out large sums for their own accommodation. I shall state the entire profit to the nation of this improved policy, with as much accuracy as the nature of the case admits; *I do so*, not only to correct the errors of a gentleman, placed in a situation so very elevated, the representative of our first county; but in order to prove to the nation how much it owes to that description of its citizens, and to rebuke those flimsy politicians, who of late have ventured to impute the misfortunes of the country to the principal cause of its prosperity.—Prosperity indeed, relative to what we were, not to what we should be; like verdure creeping slowly up a mountain's side, whose bleak front presents to view an immense heath, cheerless and uncultivated.

Until 1779, the Catholic people of Ireland were incapable of obtaining any interest in land; previous to that period, every Catholic who acquired property in Ireland, concluded his labours by establishing his family in a foreign country, and

and they were invited to do so by the most flattering immunities. An Irish Catholic emigrating to France, Spain, or the Austrian dominions, was admitted upon very slight documents, to all the privileges of the most antient nobility.

The relaxations of 1779 and of 1782, prevented that emigration, and drew back to this kingdom many Catholics, engaged abroad in successful commerce.

It is not extravagant to estimate the capital sums brought into Ireland by Irish Catholics, who had resided abroad, at - - £500,000

Money invested in land by Catholics, who had acquired large properties in money, which they would otherwise have transported to Catholic countries, about - £2,000,000

Men of middling situation, who were prevented by the encouragement to settle at home, from sending their children to foreign services, about - - - - £1,000,000

Brought over £3,500,000

The advantage to Catholics in trade, of a means of employing in land their surplus, or dead capital, may be estimated to have in that space of time enriched the nation, to the amount of - - - - - £5,000,000 capital stock.

This calculation is surely under the fact.

Dealers in land were encouraged in their improvements, by getting long tenures; accession to the nation's wealth, at least - - - - - £5,000,000 Ditto

Total Profit to the nation, on a very moderate calculation, - - - £13,500,000

With the super-lucration upon that capital sum, for near twenty years; with what is infinitely more, the immense facility to barter and alienation, in consequence of these vast sums being thrown into circulation, and swelling the currency of the country.

I stand on these proofs, as to the practical good consequences of the former concessions to Catholics; and where any ill effects have ensued, I attribute them to the want of method and

and liberality. And I make these assertions with not the less confidence, altho' they contradict the doctrines of two eminent opposers of the Union ; the Patron, and the avenging Angel of the *Orange-Men*.

ADDITIONAL REMARKS.

I MUST here insert two remarks, which escaped me in their proper places. Some persons are apprehensive that an Union will subject them to the heavy taxes levied in Great-Britain. Particular exceptions, and the quota to be paid by Ireland, to the exigencies of the empire, will, it is to be presumed, constitute part of the treaty. But let us look about, and consider how rapidly we run after Great-Britain in the career of debt and taxes on our separate establishment. The taxes imposed during the present war, in Britain, are high, but they are supported by an augmentation of property more than equivalent to the burden. The same event has occasioned in Ireland considerable addition to our debt and taxes. I admit the necessity of the expence, but we had not the same consolatory equivalent ; for the value of property has been on the decline during that period. Britain is not taxed beyond her means. I should sooner expect to see Ireland highly taxed, by a domestic Legislature

ture, which is not so much bound to keep terms with the people, than by the united Parliament. What occasions the proposal—to Unite?—The British government dreads a separation, and is desirous to take this country under its immediate inspection, in order to cultivate by a soothing policy, the affections of the people, and attach them to the Empire. And can it be supposed that, after having with great pains attained its object, the British government will defeat the effect of it, by irritating the Irish.

We have seen, page 12, how wasteful the plan is, of borrowing money for the public service on separate loans.

Our taxes will, to be sure, be augmented; or rather they will naturally encrease, when the Union shall have extended the wealth of Ireland. But no man will object to pay taxes, when he is furnished with the means of paying them without inconvenience.

If our constitution was equally sound as that of Britain, wherefore since the year 1782, has not this country derived from the commerce of the world, advantages in any degree proportionable to those of Britain? This is the fair estimate to judge by, and not by the comparison of what Ireland is now, with what she was previous to the change in her internal policy and external capability.

We are two powers engaged in the same adventure, the one has added in the same space of time to its capital, a fourfold encrease; the other has improved very little more than what some domestic alterations may account for.

Having

Having noticed a very ingenious, but in my opinion erroneous pamphlet, by Richard Jebb, Esq. I am bound to declare, that I should be sorry to imply, by any expression I have used, a sentiment different from what I feel.—Mr. Jebb's book seems to me to be the work of an acute, and well cultivated understanding.

W. S.

THE END.

CONSIDERATIONS
UPON THE STATE OF
PUBLIC AFFAIRS,

CONSIDERATIONS
UPON THE STATE OF
PUBLIC AFFAIRS,

IN THE YEAR MDCCXCIX.
IRELAND.

CONSIDERATION

UPON THE STATE OF

PUBLIC AFFAIRS

IN THE YEAR MDCCXCVI

IRELAND.

CONSIDERATIONS

UPON THE STATE OF

PUBLIC AFFAIRS,

IN THE YEAR MDCCXCIX.

IN THE middle of last year I had
IRELAND, the reflections upon
it, & England, which at that time ap-
peared very little known, or very ill known
to the publick of this country.

“Omnem equidem terram, sceptris quæ libera nostris

“Diffidet, externam reor, & sic dicere divos.”

VIRG.

VIRG.

the public, and it becomes in a considerable degree legal. Irish Magazine pay attention in silence to the progress and success of that great measure, to which it was impell'd.

D U B L E I N:

PRINTED FOR J. MILLIKEN, No. 32, GRAFTON-STREET.

1799.

CONSIDERATION

OF STATE BILLS TO

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

1776-1777

CONSIDERATION

OF STATE BILLS TO

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

CONSIDERATION

OF STATE BILLS TO

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

ADVERTISEMENT.

ABOUT the middle of last year I had prepared for the press some reflexions upon the state of Ireland, which at that time appeared to me very little known, or very ill understood in the public of this country.

Upon the first intimation of the project of a **LEGISLATIVE UNION**, I paused upon this design, the utility of which became in a considerable degree superseded by it; and I turned my attention in silence to the progress and success of that great measure, to which it was impossible not to foresee some of the principal obstacles and motives of opposition. But it is but very lately that I perceived any advantage

in a public discussion of them, in the particular light in which they presented themselves to my view. The peculiar manner in which the offer of Union on the part of Great Britain has been received by the House of Commons in Ireland, and the delicacy that constantly occurs in a free examination of the subject upon this side of the water, have determined me to make public the following Considerations. The truth of them, I flatter myself, will be felt where it is most useful; though, perhaps, under the present circumstances, it could not so properly or so strongly be insisted upon in any public or responsible quarter, as from the calm and privacy of the closet.

CONSIDERATIONS, &c.

WHEN the great question, which is the subject of the present Considerations, was first whispered in the world, it seemed to strike upon the minds of men with a peculiar mixture of anxiety and delight, till it subsided for a time in a general suspence and astonishment.

But this situation of the public sentiment did not arise, as I apprehend, from the novelty or the magnitude of the measure, nor from any presumption of a just opposition or rational dislike on the part of Ireland, to so

happy and so glorious a termination as it held out to her crimes, her sufferings, and her dangers.

The constant and earnest declarations of the most ostensible persons in that kingdom, of the persons highest in situation and highest in popularity, entirely forbade and excluded that apprehension. They had loudly and repeatedly announced, “ That things could not remain upon their present establishment ; that commercial jealousy was roused ; that it would increase with two independent Legislatures ; that the seeds of separation were sown in the final settlement of 1782 ; that separation of interests would bring on separation of CONNEXION.” The public opinion had kept in even tenor with the warnings of Irish statesmen, and the sense of practical evils, the dreadful course and career of calamities which every post divulged, and which advanced and expanded with progressive force and

and swiftness, till they bore off happiness, and peace, and virtue, from that devoted land, had prepared the public from any measure of vigour and authority, as they had legitimated every act of vigilance and power.

Still less could the novelty of the proposal have excited surprize. It had been specifically recommended, in times comparatively fortunate, by the ablest statesmen, and political authorities, upon both sides of the water: and in one period of her history it had been solicited by Ireland herself. But it was the peculiar character and quality of the remedy, compared with the excess and virulence of the evil; it was the novelty, not of the thing, but of the circumstances to which it was adapted, and the greatness, not of the measure, but of the mind which dictated it, that created suspence and astonishment.

That the local misgovernment or misfortunes of Ireland, should, instead of forfeitures

tures and penalties, be made to operate to her advantage and glory ; that instead of a perpetual military government, and a trembling dependence upon the crown of England for a daily and precarious existence, the parliament of Dublin should be courted to take its seat in the capital of the empire, and mix and blend with the general representation ; that the Catholic should be invited to a gradual participation of civil and political equality, and this in the midst of the crimes of one and the weakness of the other, was justly entitled to admiration and applause—but that which transcendently filled and delighted the mind of every good and honourable person, was the dignified and conscious purity of the policy of Great Britain, opposed to the perfidious practice and immorality of her enemies. After so many years of a war, in which they had respected no right, no law, nor principle of humanity ; in which the repose and virtues, the enjoyments and endearments of social life were the objects

jects of hostility, and success but a new and advanced point of attack: in which she had seen her people exposed to every artifice of cool and cruel malignity; debauched, misled, perverted; disciplined in revolts, and familiarized with massacres; after she had seen her state, during seven years, assailed and mined by force and fraud, and the balance of Europe overthrown by violence and treachery; What was the measure of her retaliation and revenge? what was her ambition, and where did she seek her relative aggrandizement? She turned her eyes not to conquests and equivalents, but to internal improvement, to the discovery and advancement of her own means and resources, to the amelioration of her own condition, to the unity and consolidation of her own strength, to her own defence, prosperity, and power. In the midst of warfare she cultivated the arts of peace: she repaired her own errors, recalled her people from seductions, and brought her dis-

tant

tant provinces under a nearer influence and inspection ; she extended her arms to every part of her dominions, and pressed her extremest dependencies to her bosom, while she girt the mighty Whole together in one compressing chain, one common bond of interest, affection, and security.

Behold her equivalent ! contemplate this augmentation of her power and greatness ! examine her policy ! probe her ambition to the quick !—mark if she writhes or shrinks, if there be any tumour, or any foulness there ! while the pretended deliverers of mankind prolong their polluted reign, and found their disastrous hopes in the wounds and corruptions of humanity, in the disease and dissolution of society itself !

When men could withdraw their eyes from this object of honest exultation ; and had turned their thought to the critical and dis-

dispassionate discussion of the subject itself, it seemed that the great measure of an incorporate Union between the two countries had naturally resolved itself on the first aspect into these important questions, by the solution of which, its fate would be decided—“ Whether the Parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland were competent to treat for their constituents ?” and “ whether the treaty proposed, were beneficial to the contracting parties ?” But it appears to have been considered by the House of Commons in Ireland in another and a very different point of view besides that of it’s utility, and this of their own competency and right to decide it. In that assembly, it did not lie between the advantages and relative interests of the two countries in the Union, which seemed virtually to be acknowledged, but it was supposed to contain something humiliating to the pride and dignity of Ireland. It was not considered as an injury which England designed, but

an insult which she offered to a great and independent nation. With that feeling the House very naturally refused to entertain it for a moment. With a just and becoming spirit they rejected the discussion at once; though by a measure so precipitate and unusual, they doubtless incurred some imputation of disrespect to the crown, and of ingratitude to the parent-country.

It is necessary that this point should be clearly and distinctly understood; and necessary to ascertain whether the feelings of the House of Commons were as just and proper as their conduct undoubtedly was while they were governed by them. For it would be ungenerous to suspect of that Assembly, that they would have rejected with scorn, and refused to discuss altogether, a great national measure recommended by their sovereign, unless they had thought it on the one hand to imply some insult and degradation to the nation

nation they represent, and on the other to be so evidently advantageous to it, in an interested point of view, as to expose the people to the temptation and danger of overlooking the affront in the utility of the offer. Upon any other supposition it is impossible to account for so wide a departure from the established rules and practice of a deliberating Assembly as the moving a previous question upon a message from the throne, and shutting the discussion *in limine* upon a subject of the very highest moment that ever came before them. For to take it the other way: if the offer was supposed to be disadvantageous to Ireland, or unpopular to a great extent in the country, then it would have come certainly to be rejected upon disclosure and discussion; and that, with the double infamy and stigma deserved both by the affront and the injury; and the House of Commons of Ireland could have had no motive for depriving the British minister of the full mass of mortification that awaited him.

In that manner the same Assembly had acted in 1785 upon the occasion of the commercial propositions. They said that England sold them commerce for constitution, and bartered her trade for their independence. This measure, therefore, after full and long debates, and minute investigation and publicity, they refused with scorn, to the confusion and disappointment of its projector. But upon the present proposition they were not so sure of the sense and high spirit of the public. They were fearful lest the benefits proposed by the union should extinguish all sense of the affront, and they wisely and honestly withheld the temptation from the people.—I cannot but applaud the spirit and prudence of the House as one who would never expose the people to such a danger and temptation: as one who would not put it in their power to decide amiss, nor comply with them if they did: as one who thinks the obsequiousness of a government towards their fugitive and mis-

taken

taken will, a species of the very worst cowardice and treason, and the will of the people no excuse for the compliance of a government in any disastrous, or dishonourable, or dangerous measure.

But while I applaud the conduct of the Irish House of Commons under the impression which governed them, I entertain very considerable doubts whether those impressions were natural and just ; and I think it very important to ascertain that point, because it is from that alone, that it is possible to combine or foresee the fate of the proposal. If these impressions were founded in right reason, there is no doubt but that that Assembly will persevere in the course they have taken ; but if they were the momentary effects of warmth and national irritability, we may expect from their good sense and their virtue, such a temperament, as will at least admit the

the discussion, and collect the public sentiment with regard to it.

It seems to me in the first place, that some of the prejudices which exist in Ireland against the incorporation, are real and honest prejudices ; and that we may have contributed to create them ourselves by fatal gifts, and flattering appellations. Whoever has attended to the course of public affairs and public opinion, must have found occasion to remark the influence of a word or a phrase upon the minds of men ; and if we had from mistaken tenderness to Ireland permitted lofty or endearing sounds to charm her ear from the true knowledge of her state, we should doubtless partake whatever blame were due to the delusion. If we had granted independence to the most wretched, ill-governed, and dependent colony upon the surface of the globe ; if we had dignified with the name of Sister-kingdom a settlement of English who had

neither

neither subdued nor gained the country they inhabited: nor won by arms, nor tamed by wisdom and generosity the barbarous natives of the soil; should we be totally exempt from the folly or the fault of the planter whose ideas we had bewildered and confused? It is impossible, without pity for the human mind, to consider the abuse of words and the mischiefs, that result from it. From this perversion and uncertainty, sometimes weak, and sometimes malicious, flow as from their source those horrors which appear more glaring from their folly: and crimes, whose worst and most atrocious character is their mixture of absurdity and guilt. While we have lavished these seducing names upon our colony, and soothed her into the fond belief of imperial greatness and equality, what are the kind and grateful epithets, what the fond and endearing blandishments she pays us in return? The Sister-kingdom calls us "Foreigners," and the independent state makes a mighty merit of her preference for "British connexion." Foreign-

ers and Connexion ! But we deserve no better for we began the folly, and are the first deceivers. Foreigners and Connexion ! Are we not their parent ? Are they not our own blood ? Are they not governed by our laws ? Are they not defended by our sword ? Are they not maintained in their power, in their religion, in their constitution, in their lands, by the protecting arm and parental vigilance of England.

To such an extent of prejudice does this fatal ambiguity or perversion of terms prevail in whatever regards this deluded colony, that it is become impossible (unless we are merely speaking geographically) to know what is meant by the word Ireland itself. We have occasion for explanation or definitions at every turn. Sometimes it is the great majority of the people, sometimes it is the settler ; now it is the great population of the natives in arms, and now the independent colony trembling at its disparity ; here it is the representative of a

handful of protestants ; there the directory, and the catholic republic. Out of this confusion it is indispensable to collect some order, and to be able to convey and express our meaning in distinct and positive language. I am unwilling to give offence any where, and am far from intending it ; but I do not expect to probe these long and ulcerous sores without giving pain ; if I could, the gangrene has taken place, and there is no remedy but amputation. nebline me non amputari his sideremus ne vel vivis vel sed

It is painful, no doubt, to withdraw the eye from these ambitious dreams of federal crowns and independent senates, to send back through the ivory portal these flattering images of power and greatness, and present the bloody and disgusting mirror of realities. But is it my fault if the British colony in Ireland cannot read its state, or recollect its origin, or perceive its dangers ? Am I to blame, if it sleeps on the brink of ruin, or for awaking it ? nevem obliuvi floupius
sideremus

Would God we lived in times when we might slumber on in delightful or tranquil visions, when we might rock ourselves to rest with innocent flatteries and delusions. We have been roused with a mighty peal, and have armed by the flashes of contiguous conflagrations. But if we cannot see the avenging power that overturns our gates, and the trident that shakes our foundations, we shall neither save our religion, nor our parents, nor our children; and exchange at best our destiny for an unprofitable and inglorious revenge! which can do us no good, and will only contribute to our misery.

The history of the Irish nation begins with the conquest of Ireland. All that precedes is false or doubtful, obscure or utterly unknown, a proverbial fable, forged to insult the sense and outrage the credulity of mankind. All useful knowledge of it is coeval with English connexion. It is true this connexion was parentage with the colony and conquest with the natives. Hence followed now a double

a double duty, of which it is to be for ever lamented that we have not acquitted ourselves with equal justice; for conquest brings duties with it as well as colonization. We owed protection and encouragement to our settler, but instruction and the gradual amelioration of his condition to the native. Such in the beginning, after Henry the second accepted the perjurable fealty of Ireland, and received the whole island into homage as a fief of his crown, was the pious policy of the time. The conversion of her barbarous hordes to christianity, the restriction and subordination of her savage aristocracy of Sheiks and Beys, were the benefits that great prince conferred upon the Irish. If in successive periods the progress of civilisation has not kept pace with the advancement of the parent country, I think it more espocially to be attributed to the great impolicy of Henry the Eighth at the reformation, when the feuds of religious difference became superadded to

the inextinguishable quarrel, and rendered the state of the conquered and the settler more hostile and rancorous than in the moment of usurpation. If the sovereigns between him and his great predecessor are justly chargeable with omission in neglecting the civilization or incorporation of the natives, the colony itself from that time is to be accused of that exclusive and ungenerous policy which has depressed and degraded the human character itself in the form of the native Irish ; and if England is to be condemned, as she justly may be, it is for her criminal indulgence to her colony, and her inactivity and inattention to the natives who were entitled to her protection.

But it is the more to be lamented that the crown of England should have omitted to accomplish or attempt the incorporation of Ireland before or at the period of the reformation : because by that event it became in a great measure

measure impossible for the British colony itself to effect any thing favourable to the native, or to work with sincerity for his improvement, and the advancement of his condition. They were placed at a wider distance ; new barriers had sprung up between them ; and while the see of Rome, which had granted Ireland to a pious prince, never ceased to contest it with his heretic successors, the colony had new dangers to provide against, or new injuries to revenge.

I am not preparing to shew the progress of these natural and religious dissensions, too legible in the worst pages of our history, but it is an object of the greatest consequence to consider it with unbiased meditation, in order to determine this important question with fidelity and precision, “Whether it be possible for the British colony to ameliorate the condition of the natives ?” James the first seems, of all our princes, to be entitled to commen-

dation for his salutary efforts in that amiable work, but the liberality of succeeding times has been constantly overpowered and defeated by the obstacles I have related.

It is certainly a matter very little to our honour in any point of view, that after a period of six hundred years so little progress should have been made in the conciliation of the minds of the Irish, in the amelioration of their condition, or in their fusion and intermixture with the colony. It cannot be without our own fault and reproach, that we have not effectually interfered in their favour, and compelled our plantation to a more just and enlightened policy with regard to them; and the accumulated rancour of so many centuries, now burst at last upon their heads, will be a dreadful caution to other conquerors, how long they retain these odious distinctions, and defer the complete union and incorporation of their acquisitions.

It is the practice of our enemies to reproach this country with every evil and every accident that has ever befallen Ireland. But if ever their accusations had been just, or they had sought for any truth or any argument to support them, they would have reproached us for our long delay, protraction and omission, of this very measure of union which we are now accused by some of our colonists of presenting premature and untimely to their independent parliament; it is our cruel indifference to the instruction and well-being of the native, and our obsequious tenderness to the settler; it is, that the "final settlement" of Ireland has been deferred through so many reigns; that we are now attempting that which ought to have been perfected by every prince, at least since the reformation. It is that we have not incorporated; that we have not done our duty by the subjects we acquired; that we have suffered them to preserve the memory of an original wrong, and to remain in a state of ~~benign~~ igno-

ignorance, rudeness and barbarism, worse in its effects, and more degrading in its nature, than that in which our fathers found them six centuries before.

If we look to any part of the continent which has been conquered, inherited or acquired by any other state, we shall not find the same impolicy, and I must add, the same cruelty as our own; for though I will never vindicate, or advise measures of violence and injustice, I have no scruple to say that there is no violence more cruel than neglect, and no injustice equal to the cold continuance of the miseries we found. Not that the measures we have pursued in Ireland have been always free from active violence and excesses; both Cromwell and William the Third made cruel retaliations upon the rebellious native, and exacted grievous forfeitures and confiscations. If we were reproached for these deeds of theirs by the catholic and the attainted

tainted only, I would not complain of our accuser, I would ask alone if a century of of kindness, cannot efface our fathers' severity? But when the grantees of Cromwell and the King, when the children of their soldiers, and the heirs of their rapacity reproach us with their own gains, when they accuse us of their own crime, and array the spoil and plunder they have seized, amongst the articles of our impeachment, I know not, I confess, with what temper to answer them, whether with scorn, or argument: nor whether their gross absurdity proceeds from the confusion of their own understandings, or their contempt for ours? But let the crimes of centuries be blazoned out; let the annals of rancour and revenge be ransacked, and the avarice and cruelty of these conquerors be dressed in all the colours of popular exaggeration, still I think their crime of omission was greater than their crime of commission, and their cruelty in

not uniting Ireland, worse than their cruelty of confiscation. Cromwell, it is well known, would have united Holland, so that the policy could not have been unknown to him; and William had that occasion and opportunity which have occurred after an hundred years, with the same crimes, and wickeder rebellions. Another century has found the same feuds, the same massacres, and the same untamed ferocity, the same unreclaimed barbarity in the Irish people; and it has fortunately found the same power and fortune of the British arms defending their conquest, and maintaining their colony. What is the result of all this experience, what the wisdom we may learn in this dreadful school?

Shall we suffer these evils to remain, and thrive, and spring up again? or lay the axe to the vivacious root which we have lopped so often, and to such little purpose? Shall we

profit by the cruel lessons of adversity, or persevere in this career of evils to new massacres and imperishable rebellions? Shall we perform that which we condemn every sovereign and every administration for neglecting, or imitate their neglect in spite of our condemnation, and in spite of the unutterable calamities that stream from it.

That the native Irish should retain their hostility, appears to me, I confess, under the circumstances I have set down, more unwise than unnatural. That, remaining in the state almost of their barbarous ancestors, they should retain their passions, and commit their excesses;—that they should remember injuries which have never been effaced, and make continual claim upon lands from which they have been dispossessed by usurpers who have extinguished their crime by no benefits, no assimilation, no adoption—that they should complain of non-resident landlords, and a chain of leases between the owner and the

the tenant of the soil;—that they should repine at paying taxes to a colony they hate, and tithes to a clergy they abhor—and finally, that sore with real wrongs, and intoxicated with visions of liberty; deceived by foreign gold, and the artifices of domestic treason, they should be goaded or guided into rebellion—I confess it appears to me both as natural and as imprudent as the empire of the passions usually is found to be. But when I hear the colony itself complain of our yoke, and accuse us of oppressions—when I hear the very persons, guilty of all these wrongs, or for whose sake they have been perpetrated, impeach us with their own crimes, and of our connivance, I protest I am at a loss whether to attribute it to the supposed confusion of their ideas, or to the perversity of their heart. I have more indulgence for the catholic conspirator, than for the protestant complaint; his principle is to be traced in the heart of man, and his motives lie deep in the very nature of his being. I know not

of any calamity or danger that has reached or threatened England, where his conduct has not been uniform and direct. Has there been a disputed title, a pretender to the crown, a pseudo-prince, or a rebellion? he has joined them all, as so many occasions to assert his right, and throw off the tyranny of England. He is the ally of Perkin Warbeck, and of James the second. From Henry the seventh to the king's illness, he has watched his opportunity of emancipation and revenge. It is *now* only that his conduct is become absurd, when England offers union, and as the consequence of it, emancipation: now that she has at length adopted that liberal and enlightened policy which will place him upon the same footing as her colony, and admit him to the full participation of the blessings of her imperial, free, and equal constitution. It is wiser, indeed, to become a Briton, than to nourish an eternal and unprofitable hostility. It is wiser to be admitted into the sovereignty, than to make war upon it. To unite, is wiser than

than to tear open early wounds, and persevere in interminable quarrels.

But if he prefers the dictates of his passions ; if he is the dupe of priests, of foreigners, of political reformers, of parties and promisers ; if it requires still other lessons of calamity and fresh ablutions of blood to efface these revengeful hopes, and prepare a happier and more pious choice, I commiserate his error, and feel indulgence for the powerful movement of his soul ; I cherish, too, the flattering hope that it is the last contest, and that the issue of it will effect this very union, the necessity of which it will establish, though too late for his own happiness and the present salvation of his country.

From this miserable and preponderant part of Ireland, I turn to that portion of it descended from our own loins, and nourished with our own blood and treasure : to that portion which is enthroned upon the necks of the great

great population of the country, and upheld in its dangerous pre-eminence by the power of the parent state;—to that portion, our own grantees and colonists, who have forgotten their birth, and denied their name; who disown the hand that enfeoffed them, and still guards their title; which planted them on the soil, and maintains them there; which gave them power, and now gives them impunity. I turn to that portion of Ireland which must stand or fall with us in spite of its dreams of independence, which is united in spite of forms, and identified in defiance of parchments; which if our arm be withdrawn but a moment, will be trampled into the ground it usurps, and which thinks it an indignity to be incorporated into our state, and admitted to our empire.

We have read of a plant, the produce of I know not what fabulous island, the property of whose fruit it was to take away all memory of the native country, all gratitude, regret and

and desire of it. But though our colony should have fed on it to fullness, I think they might trace their origin in the hatred and antipathy of the natives, in their own sufferings and dangers. I think they might read it in characters of their own blood, and by the light of their own conflagrations, I think the savage who tortures their cattle, who cuts down their woods, who besieges their houses, who waylays their steward and their proctor, who assassinates their witnesses and their magistrates; I think he tells them at every step that they are ENGLISH—I think the peasant who brings his writ of right in arms against their property, tells them they are ENGLISH—I think in every crime, and every calamity, they are forbidden to forget that they are ENGLISH.

Had our colony been prosperous and secure—had it grown and flourished under our shade till it were capable of empire and independence—could Mr. Foster or Mr. Grattan tell

tell us us that " the natives are subdued by their,
 " kindness, and delighted with their yoke; that
 " the whole country is united and incorporated
 " within itself!— Could they say, we are in fact
 " independent of you and all the world—we
 " are independent of all farther support and
 " assistance from you, we dread no rebellion,
 " we fear no army of " avengers," we rule in
 " peace, we reside upon our lands, where we
 " bless and instruct our faithful tenantry; we
 " watch their education, we dispel their igno-
 " norance, we command their affections by the
 " benefits we confer—to your armed empire
 " we have substituted the reign of gratitude;
 " our state is adult and firm; we exist by our
 " own industry, by our own means and efforts,
 " and require no future aid or interference—
 " why do you come to interrupt our tranqui-
 " lity? to break our repose, to disturb our per-
 " fect happiness? have we invoked your assist-
 " ance? have we called out to you? have we con-
 " fessed any weakness or disorder in our state?
 " have the native revolted? are we invaded by

“ foreigners?”—Had this been the case, and I could have heard a language like this, I have not so read the lesson of America that I should now be astonished or affected by them: I have not so studied the history of ungrateful prosperity, that I should now be surprised at the power of the example and the repetition of the crime. But that the stern rugged nurse should breathe the same poisonous counsels as the painted bawd; that wholesome Adversity and flattering Success should give the same treacherous advice,—I confess it confounds the very faculties and uses of the mind.

Had our Irish colony been as happy and prosperous as our American—had she enjoyed the same good fortune, and become as capable of independence, I still do not see that with the experience of that event, it would have been wise and desirable for her to have travelled in the same steps; and I think it very material to dwell a little upon this observation,

tion, because there can be no manner of doubt but that this single act of national ingratitude, has proyed the signal of the dissolution of the civilized world, that it has shaken every state and every form of government to its centre, and loosened the foundations of society itself. Unhappy England ! There was no Cordelia amongst all her daughters ; Regan turned her from the door to the rude pelting of the pitiless storm, and Gonerill denies her hundred knights.

But it is not England that it is necessary to consider ; she has triumphed, hitherto, over all her enemies and all her traitors, and over the worst of all her thankless children. When I look to America, I distinguish the crime but not its utility ; I see every thing but the profit of ingratitude. Is she happier, or greater, since she ceased to be a part of Britain ? Are her taxes lighter ? Is her commerce protected better ? Is her government more respected or secure ? While she belonged to England,

what stranger dared oppress her ? Who plundered her merchants, or insulted her flag, or suborned her people ? What Frenchman dictated to her councils ? What impositions did she lay upon her land ? What disunion—what dissolution threatened her ? Did she live or linger then by the care of a declining hand ? Did the frail tenure of an old man's life sustain and compress her provinces together ? Did she hold the empire not by her strength, but the approach of her weakness, and the expectation of a better opportunity to divide and dismember her ?—Oh, but she is independent ! she enjoys the sovereign rights and supreme arbitrement of empire ; she sends ambassadors ; she levies armies ; she prepares fleets, and decides on peace and war. For these advantages, he is a feeble statesman indeed, who will not pardon a little ambition, and a little ingratitude. Prove then that these are advantages. I see her ambassadors insulted or unheard, expelled or ransomed ; I see taxes raised to pay forces, but they are to constrain her own revolts :

to defeat, not the armies, but the plots of foreigners. I see fleets, but she dares not employ them. I see taxes and arms, but neither war nor peace. I see treaties, but it is with England, whom she abandoned and abjured. I see that tutulary alliance, that maternal flag, protect the commerce for which America sacrificed every moral duty, and for many political advantages. I see this cruel parent, whom she deserted and betrayed, maintain her among the nations, and uphold her perishable state amidst the factions that prey upon her vitals.

America, however, had driven her savages behind her frontiers; she had conquered and repelled the wild barbarian whom she could not civilize. By the impolitic peace of 1763, we had delivered her from the neighbourhood and hostility of France, and she demanded to be foris-familiated, like a prosperous child whose fortune has corrupted his heart. Has our settlement in Ireland even this

excuse?

excuse? Is there any thing in common between the state of these two colonies? In Ireland, the native prowls unconquered and untamed, confined within no pale, and forced behind no barrier—France is at her door and in her chamber—and while she bellows “independence,” she is the prey of miseries unknown and unheard of by the rest of men; of crimes, for which the names are uninvented, of which the knowledge must be buried in dark eternal silence, where no sound is heard, nor eye may penetrate, sealed by disgust and horror, and guarded by the wounded dignity of humanity itself?

America, as it appears to me, I own, was happy and respectable, was fortunate and secure, when she began her crime, and affected her independence. Her independence too was real and effectual. It was perfect in all its parts; she abjured our crown as well as our legislature, and she became a sovereign by her ingratitude. Yet if I look at this

sovereign

sovereign state, and all her dangers and divisions—if I contemplate the peculiar evils of her constitution, admired I think by none of the wise and provident, and commended only by the speculist and the Jacobin as example of revolution and impunity—if I consider her present state, and the circumstances upon which she advances, I am scarcely to be restrained from affirming that there is nothing but union—this very measure of union and incorporation, of all her Provinces—that can save and defend her: or extricate her from the dangers and perplexities of that federal independence, which has neither defended Holland, nor Switzerland, nor the empire of Germany.

From the case of America, who has seperated, we are naturally led to that of Scotland, who has united herself with England; and I confess it appears to me not a little singular, that I should have been so little anticipated upon one of the great and leading points

points of that argument; which does not appear to me to be half so interesting, nor half so powerful from analogy as from contrast. The analogy extends no farther than the probable consequences of a parallel experiment—but the contrast comprises the whole general circumstance and position of the two countries previous to the experiment; and the inference follows with accumulated and, I think, irresistible force, in favour of the present measure; since experience has shewn, that under circumstances of so unpromising a difference, that Union has still proved fortunate, and surpassed the most sanguine predictions of the great statesmen, who were the authors of it. In the Scottish union, I am at a loss to discover any circumstances of resemblance to the present measure, besides the accidental union of the two crowns upon the same head. Was Scotland a colony of ours? Was Scotland planted and watered by our hand? Had it grown and flourished under

our

our protecting shade? Was the property of Scotland in the hands of Englishmen? Was the parliament elected by Englishmen, and composed of Englishmen to the exclusion of the antient occupants of the soil? Had the laws, the religion, the constitution, and the language and the state, been transported thither from this parent country? From the first union of the crowns to the beginning of Queen Anne's reign, the legislative union had been a subject of deep deliberation. Scotland had to melt and blend with a nation of "foreigners," and with foreigners her antient, and, as it was then said, her natural enemies. Her wounds were yet green and stiff: reciprocal hatreds, alternate triumphs, a frontier desolated and famous from eternal warfare, and a history full of nothing but the injuries and invasions of England, were but little propitious to this new and wise design. There was much to be forgotten or forgiven—natural jealousies, old antipathies, national pride

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pride and family resentments, were all to be soothed and won over by the evident utility and advantage of the union. Scotland besides possessed an actual and efficient independence; she had a real sovereignty to subscribe and surrender to the united parliament; she had a valuable consideration to contribute for the wealth, the security, and the dignity she received.

But is this the case of the Irish planter? is his independence real, or any thing but a dangerous and delusive sound, which tempts him to the rock, and draws him to the whirlpool? Is he independent of France, who pours her avengers upon the land? or independent of three millions of natives, who claim his estate with title-deeds and pikes? or independant of England, who defends him with her ships, her soldiers, and even her militia? Yet Scotland preferred to yield this real independance, so dear to her early prejudice. She preferred the substantial useful glory of a common

sceptre and an imperial legislature, to the dull privilege of provincial greatness and municipal ambition. After centuries of cruel hostilities, fruitful of wretchedness and glory, she subsided into her true and just position, and incorporated with her mighty neighbour, to whom fate and nature had awarded the seat of empire. Now then comes the question of analogy. Has she repented of her prudence, of her true and wise magnanimity? Is the British name less glorious than the Scots? Is population, is commerce, is internal peace, a motive for repentance? Are improvement, arts and civilization, or the well being of life, motives for repentance? Have we violated the treaty — have we imposed tribute — have we abused our imperial power, or betrayed the confidence of the kingdom we united with? If all this experience is lost and thrown away; if this analogy and contrast are both ineffectual, to desert to her easily preferable. She preferred the independence of a commonalty of a colony to a dependency of a province to a kingdom.

stual, I know not what argument can reach the deep rooted prejudice of Ireland.

If the offer of union therefore cannot be taken as an insult to our colony; if America has not been much benefited by separation; if Scotland has never charged us with breach of faith or partial exercise of dominion over her; if there be upon the face of the earth no condition more glorious, or more happy than that of Britons; and if to extend, participate, and fully communicate all the blessings we enjoy, be entitled to some commendation and to some return, it will not I trust be too much to expect from the returning good sense and temper of the majority of the Irish House of Commons, that the discussion may at least be permitted of this measure; the principle of which appears to have so many claims to their gratitude,

The question of competency (if that is seriously a question) is the next in order; and then the general utility and fairness of the measure itself. But it is not my intention, for the present at least to examine the particular merit of every clause and condition, which can only be discussed with any beneficial effect, and I fear only with any candour, by commissioners on both sides, who shall be already satisfied of the pure and honourable character of the proceeding of the competency of the two parliaments, and of the reciprocal advantage, dignity, and security, which it is their object to procure and confirm to both kingdoms.

As to the question of competency, I shall add but one argument to those which have been urged with such irresistible energy on both sides of the water and that, because it is addressed to those persons whose fanciful and dangerous doctrines would unhinge the civilized

lized world ; who deny the power of states and governments and legislatures, and would assemble in plains or forests upon every new case and occurrence, the population of an empire, to collect the votes of labourers and shepherds. I think the absurdity of their opinion is merged and drowned in its depravity ; the bitter malice and subtlety of their scheme swallows up its madness and impracticable folly, But I would ask them upon their own principle, and according to their own reasoning, what right the British Parliament possessed in 1782, without consulting numerically the people of Britain, to surrender the sovereign controul and supremacy of the British legislature over their colony in Ireland ? What right had Britain to abandon three millions of Catholics to the discretion of the colony, without the consent of every shop and every cabin in the four provinces ? I would ask them what right the parliament of Ireland possessed in 1782, to accept that fatal boon,

boon, without consulting the people of Ireland in the same manner? Do they mean to say that parliaments are competent when themselves approve their measures, and incompetent when they differ from them? Does the authority of the state, and the exercise of the constitution, depend upon their approbation or concurrence? or is parliament competent to contract, and not to rescind a contract—to bind, and not to loosen? Do they mean to say we had no authority to cede the colonies of America? or that we have no competence to sever Ireland and abandon it France? they will not go this length. I know it, but their argument does; for it denies the validity of every legislative act, of every great national settlement, because the votes of the multitude have not been collected *per capita*. It would neither leave order, government, nor authority in states, nor peace between them; it would revoke into doubt and litigation every act, every treaty,

treaty, and every principle, by which the conduct of nations has been governed or their misfortunes terminated.

If it is contended that parliaments are competent to procure advantage and general good, but not to part with or alienate them; I shall answer, that this is a begging of the question; for we assert the union to be advantage and general good. But it is not only a begging of the question, but a confusion of the terms; for competency does not intend, nor conclude, nor respect wisdom. An usurper has made wise and wholesome laws, and a legal prince absurd and unjust ones: yet the competency is with the legal prince. For competency depends upon a just authority, and not upon the use of it. This is material for me to state, who am preparing to shew, that the act of 1782, (the legality of which who doubts must, in my opinion, be very weak or very wicked) was an act

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very imprudent and very prejudicial to the people of Ireland.

By that act, I confess I think that the parliaments of the two kingdoms did mean to come to a FINAL SETTLEMENT ; though there exists great authority to prove that there were statesmen on both sides the water, who saw either the danger, the insufficiency, or the nullity of the act. I think the public of both kingdoms interpreted it in that light, and in that light I think it was condemned, and lamented by every man of feeling, reflection and sagacity.

It was an act extorted by the base ingratitude of our Irish colony, from the feebleness and calamity of our state. It was an act of ambitious violence, imposed upon us while we lay weltering in our blood, and faint from defeat and disaster. It was an act of unfilial and unmanly artifice, plotted by the

basest of intriguers, and conceded by the weakest of ministers.

That this "final settlement," was impossible to last, and that it did not require the misconduct of the colonial independent parliament upon subsequent events, to open men's eyes upon its absurdity and danger, I am ready to admit ; and if the injustice or folly of any measure could shake the competency of the act, I will admit that this might be invalidated for incompetency.

Fortunately, indeed, the independence of the Irish colony which it established, as far as lay within its power, was a nullity and a cypher. But the dependence of the native upon the colony, it did fully create and establish—an act of injustice, I am sorry to say, which cannot be palliated by the general conduct of the colony towards him. An act

act which carried despair into the bosom of the catholics, and placed their only hope of emancipation upon the assistance of foreigners, and the misfortunes of this country.

It seems to be the fashion, to under-rate the capacity and understanding of the Roman catholics of Ireland ; but though the ignorance and bigotry of the lower classes of that persuasion are no doubt the cause of many excesses, and the instrument of all, I cannot discover that the leaders of it have so conducted themselves, as that we should condemn or look down upon their abilities with any conscious pride of superiority. They knew that an independent Irish parliament—they knew that the representatives of a protestant colony, would not and could not dare to trust the immense majority of their nation with an equality of political rights and condition. They saw that what they

looked for from the power and magnanimity of Britain, became hopeless from the hands of settlers, whose weakness made them jealous and afraid. They were too conscious of their own strength, and too fond of their title, to desire or expect they should be ever trusted by an usurper, whose force they despised, and whose right they disputed. They felt themselves abandoned, and turned over to the generosity of a handful of proprietors, who were too powerless, and too timid to be merciful: and if the independent parliament had been compelled to make the concession, they would have been too sensible of the cause from which it sprung; they would have called it fear and not liberality, and they would have seized the proffered boon, not as satisfaction and content, but as a step in the ladder of their ambition, and an advanced post in the march of revenge!

Such

Such I apprehend were the sentiments of the catholic and the colonist towards each other, that there could not be a greater misfortune to the one, or injustice to the other, than the removal of that supremacy and controul of empire in Britain, which could alone respectively maintain and repress them. And if I were to contemplate the act of 1782 in no other point of view, and without relation to the internal state of the colony itself, I should not hesitate to condemn it, upon this account, as the most unjust as well as the most unwise upon the statute book. I confess I see no means that are left us by that act while it remains in force, (and it cannot be rescinded without the consent of the Irish parliament,) of putting an end to those calamities and crimes that have flowed from it, except in this measure of union alone. And if I could be brought to consider it with less dislike and aversion, it would be because I regard it as having prepared and accelerated that happy and glorious

glorious event, by the evils it has accumulated, and by the legal facility it has created.

I shall shew, before I conclude these reflexions, what are the peculiar advantages it offers to the Roman catholic, and upon what motives, alone it appears possible for him to reject it; at present the course of my argument leads me to enquire whether the final settlement and independence of 1782, have been more favourable to the British colony than to the native population.

The persons who are inclined to think or speak most favorably of that act of "final" settlement, are those who consider it as an experiment upon the part of Britain, whether her colony, which had seldom conducted itself with wisdom, prudence, or justice towards the native, being at length entrusted with the entire dominion of the country, and invested in the complete legislative authority, would

be

be able or willing to devise any wiser or more liberal measures for the general government of the people. But besides that, it is difficult to connect the words *final* and *experiment*; it seems more natural, if we are to suppose any free consent and foresight at all, upon the part of England at the close of the last disastrous war, to suspect that it was not intended, by the government at least, to surrender the imperial rights of the parent country for ever; but to convince the ignorant ambition of the colony of their unfitness for empire, and to prepare, as has been already stated, their free and formal consent to their incorporation; while in the mean time it took away from the independent colonial parliament all occasion and pretext of charging the metropolitan country with any part of their own misgovernment or inability to govern.

But even this hypothesis, I confess, appears to me violent and improbable, because all the
real

real and effectual change that was operated in the colony, by this pretended experiment in the gift of independence, was the mere substitution of influence in the room of prerogative, and of ministerial favour for parliamentary controul. The dependance was not, nor could be changed ; but the mode and application of the principle were adopted to a new and a worse position, and transferred from the constitution to the treasury. Dependence is the natural and the necessary order for every colony that ever was or can be planted, so long, at least, as it requires the aid and protection of the parent country ; and to give it the name and qualification of independence, while nature and necessity forbid the substance of the thing, is to betray and expose it to corruption, and all the base and little passions of avarice and left-handed ambition. Did the Irish colony receive nothing, then, by the act of 1782 ? Did we confer nothing by this high-sounding

ing term of independence ? Unfortunately we gave a fatal boon, the kindness of which will be better conjectured than explained, when we consider the present state of the independent parliament ! There are, or there were at the time when the union was first proposed in the House of Commons, one hundred and sixteen placemen in that Assembly, whose complete number does not exceed three hundred. I will not comment upon this blushing text, nor will I search into the red-book of the civil list of Ireland. I wish only to be understood, and I draw a veil over every thing that can disgust or inflame. The privilege obtained, therefore, was not to be independent, which was impossible, but the privilege to be paid for obedience, which was but too easy. Prerogative had disappeared with the statute of George the first, and corruption by the law-politic had taken its place. I withdraw my eyes from this filthy spectacle ; I leave to others to detail a venal peerage,

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and pensioned lubricity ; the Empire of the Custom-house, and commissions in the army given for sale to provosts or to priests. But let the colony declare if this be the independence she desired in 1782 ? If these be the blessings she aspired to ? If this is the sovereignty she affected ?

The colony, however, gained other advantages from her independence, of which it is difficult to appreciate the extent and the value. She augmented the number of her absentees by that portion of her wealthy and ambitious peers and commoners whom she annually deputed to court promotion and emolument in the antichambers of the Treasury, and the drawing-room of St. James's. She derived an addition to this mighty benefit by the despair and revolt of the catholic, which rendered residence altogether impossible, or converted every seat and every park in the island into a camp or a garrison. These were but trifling advantages,

however, of her independence, for it was a general, comprehensive, and pervading power which detached, and loosened, and dissolved the very cement of her civil state. The tenant became independent of the landlord : the peasant of the farmer ; the child and the wife of the husband ; the individual of the laws, the multitude of the government. It tore the subject from the state, from morals, from customs, from religion ; it armed every sect against each other ; it invaded the country, and it still invites and provokes invasion.

Do I deny or palliate the participation of the English government in the corruptions of the colony ? Necessity is a plea I will never sustain for fraud or force, for tyranny or seduction. But it requires a very stern and rigid virtue to reject it altogether here, where the alternatives were so dangerous and so cruel ; for the colony, as I have already shewn, by her own ingratitude and violence, had

had extorted from her bleeding parent that Pandora gift; and she continued to abuse her fatal weakness with new demands, and even menaces. But the question is not here to impeach a delinquent, but to shew and prove the body of the crime. It is of the guilt, and not the guilty, that we are enquiring; but if we should fix the person, and deliver up the criminal, how can this "independent" Parliament proceed or prosecute? At what bar, and before what tribunal can it impeach him? Do you not see at every step, how visionary, how false and illusory is this fatal present? This independence which corrupts and cannot save, which betrays and cannot protect, which injures and cannot even avenge?

We hear now, indeed, but for the first time, and from those who, till now, have never ceased to deplore the wretchedness and calamities of the colony, that it has improved and thriven since her boasted acquisition of independence;

pendence ; or as they affect to call it, in the language of commerce, instead of policy, since the dissolution of the partnership. But both their assertion and their term are false and ill-chosen ; for it is easy to prove (and it has been proved beyond the power of replication) that she has improved only where the partnership remained and flourished, and that she has decayed and perished wherever the connexion has expired, or been suspended. She has improved in industry and commerce, because for these she remained dependent upon the power, the tutelary care, and generosity of England. She has thriven only in matters beyond the reach, control, and authority of her independent parliament, and there only, and precisely so far as she has been upheld by the providence and the purse of England. Can her independent parliament prevent the legislature of Britain from repealing the duties she imposes upon foreign competition, or the bounties she grants on the re-exportation of Irish manufactures ? or are these favours the gift

gift of the parliament of Dublin. The cause, therefore, of this prosperity is not independence; and in her political state, where indeed she has dissolved the partnership, and become as independent as I have shewn, I should not fear to ask of Mr. Grattan himself, whether she has improved there? if she has—her folly has been prosperous; her corruptions and her misgovernment have been wise and happy. Her promises and compromises with the catholic and the dissenter, with emancipation and reform, have been prudent and just; her conspiracies, her insurrections, are fortunate and good. If she has improved in her internal state, it is because rebellion and martial law are advantages, because anarchy and murder are boons from heaven; because rape and massacre, and pillage and fires, and desolation are benefits and blessings to mankind!

Now I would ask, if it be possible to devise a milder or a kinder remedy for all these evils (for

(for as such I am perverse and blind enough to consider them) than that of union with the parent state? With a state, whose manners cannot fail to soften and civilize this wretched and exasperated race? With a state whose power can compress these factions; who has strength to be generous, and courage to be just? The colony has learned in a bloody school the vanity of her ambition; she feels that she is not, and cannot be independent of this sustaining hand, which succours and upholds her. Three millions of natives and catholics forbid it. And though there may be men of ferocious minds, who would exterminate the natives; though I have heard an atrocious policy avowed in the public councils, by which they were to be armed, and let loose upon each other; though I have heard the offer of union condemned as a remedy inadequate to the evil, and the salvation of the few asserted to depend upon the extirpation of the

the majority ; that the catholicks must be extinguished, and put out ; that not a single Rohilla of them all can be left with impunity ; though I have heard these sanguinary doctrines pollute the walls of a House of Parliament, I am satisfied they are confined to a very few breasts not wickeder than they are weak. I think the British ministry are entitled to the highest praise for the candour and the loftiness of their councils. I think the attempt is worthy of the great and generous nation over which they preside ; and as it appears to me impossible to reconcile the native and the settler without incorporating the whole, and adopting them both into the virtues, the moderation, and the magnanimity of Britain, I am desirous of giving to this measure of theirs the fullest and most unqualified applause and approbation. Independence is out of the question ; it is of the forms of dependence that it is alone important to enquire, and if I knew of

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any, milder, more liberal, and more beneficial to Ireland than union is, that form of dependance I would prefer and offer for the government of our colony. For it is only when the colony and the natives are united and lost in each other, that the Anglo-Irish will cease to be dependent. It is then that they will fuse and blend together with the empire at large, and become as independent as Scotland is, or Yorkshire or Cornwall.

It is with considerable pain and disgust that I dwell upon those obstacles to the accomplishment of this generous plan, which appear to me as the most powerful and effective in the minds of our own colony, and of the Roman catholics of Ireland. For as to the motives of the United Irishmen, it were absurd in their opposition to seek for any, but their love of anarchy and confusion, their project of pillage and revolution, and their devotednes to any cause and any power that

can protract the miseries and convulsions of their country. To search for political objects in the bosoms of conspirators who have none but to prolong their crimes, and procrastinate their punishment; who seek in revolt revolt only, and in evil evil, is to put men's reason to a harder task than is necessary or practicable with success.

Certainly it would not be possible for any great part of the British settlers in Ireland to prefer their present state of anxiety and suffering to the plan of union and incorporation that is held out to them, unless there lingered in their mind some hope or longing after another issue of their present difficulties and evils. It is the Jacobin of nature only, that delights in the continuation of the present wretchedness; but I am afraid there is a Jacobinism of policy, which induces some men to bear with or prolong evils susceptible of an earlier termination, in the hope of more advan-

advantage to themselves, or greater triumph in the issue. I confess I fear that there are amongst our settlers in Ireland some unrelenting minds who expect and prefer another conclusion of the contest, and very different from ours ; the horrible principle which has been disclosed even in England, induces me very strongly to apprehend, that there is no obstacle in a part of the colony more hostile and formidable to the projected UNION, than the hope of being enabled by the arms and treasure of the mother-country to obtain such decided and definitive success in the civil war, as to enable their “ Independent Parliament” to attaint and confiscate the remaining part of the property of Ireland not actually in the occupation of that colony.

I know this ungenerous and sanguinary sentiment is partial and limited indeed ; and I trust the executive and paramount authority indefeasible in England, tho' no longer

legally existing in its legislature, will never sanction this atrocious and premeditated scheme of insatiable avarice, and unnecessary revenge. For it is absolutely impossible to suggest upon what ground their private avarice can be recommended as a national and public scheme, or by what motives our colony will attempt to induce us to purchase for them through seas of guilt and blood, this cruel advantage, of treading out the native Irish, and becoming, in a very new and different sense, "independent" of ourselves. I confess I do not think they have so used the nominal and fictitious independence they enjoyed, as that by any sound and rational policy we could be authorized to concede a more real and effective separation.

If the only obstacle to union in the bosom of our colony is this criminal and flagitious hope of deriving from our victories an unjust and miserable success of slavery and plunder,

plunder, I am fearful that it is impossible to assign, after every allowance for passion and for prejudice, a better or a more pardonable plea for the refusal or the silence of the catholic. Revenge, and the hope of prey, are his undisguised motives; and he is only so far less absurd or less guilty than the colonist I have described, as he believes himself to have a right, according to the doctrines of imprescriptibility, to possess the lands, which no time, no length of possession can alienate, no acquiescence transfer; and as he relies for his hope of success upon a government, which as it were from the very center and focus of robbery, adopts and assists every system, and every species of plunder, every attack upon every possession, every innovation of right and principle, and law and property.

I think neither of these hopes will be crowned with success, because the British govern-

government will never espouse the crime of the colonist, and because the French directory will never be able to gratify the vengeance and the avarice of the catholic. The catholic republic may sound well in the ears of inebriated rebels, whose crimes have cut them off from their country as long as it shall be administered under any form of government, under any order whatsoever. It may sound well and lofty in the ears of ignorant and inflated conspirators, and the absurdity and solecism of the term itself may not be discovered by minds confounded by their terrors, and furious from their crimes.

The “*Catholic Republic?*” at another time I should be tempted to ask how a catholic republic could exist, or how could it be projected by men, who in all their dreams of innovation and reform have had no vision of a presbyterian monarchy, or a democratical nobility. The “*Catholic Republic?*” and what

what is to become of the hierarchy? what of divine right? what of indefeasible succession? But this absurd and contradictory term may teach us something; it betrays the measure of their capacity for whom it is designed; it shews how low, how ignorant, how obtuse is the dupe, how mean the victim, the priests of anarchy prepare. A catholic republic! what? by the side, and under the wing of a republic of atheists? a catholic republic guaranteed by the ex-bishop Talleyrand, and the doating theo-philanthropist Lepeau? What! will the titular bishops of Ireland, will men of learning, humanity, and piety, do homage to the see of infidelity, and receive the ring and the crozier from the apostate Syeyes, or from Ali-Buonaparte? Do they not see this catholic republic is a republic of chairmen and fruit-pickers? That it is the despotism of ignorance and strength, of brutal vices, and of numbers? That it is the downfall of all religion, and of all order and

and gradation, the pillage of property, and the first half only of a revolution?

Surely the virtuous catholic will prefer even the existing order, and the existing oppressions, to this species of emancipation and liberty. He will not trample on the cross of Christ, for a licence to trade in municipalities and departments; he will not deny or abjure his faith, to traffic in anarchy and republics; and he will rather try at least this new and kinder order, this christian union, by which he is called into the free privileges of an Englishman, and placed by the side of a sister and a tolerating church.

It is impossible to suppose that a greater duty can ever be laid upon men, than what has now fallen upon the sincere and enlightened catholic of Ireland. He has revenge and hopes of interest to sacrifice in the cause of

of God and man ; but revenge is almost satiated in seas of civil blood, and his hope of personal advantage, is the pillage of a wreck in which he runs the common danger—He has early prejudices to conquer ; but adversity is a great teacher, and the wholesome lessons of calamity still vibrate on his ear—a great change is propounded to him, and he is called to the rights of citizenship, not by the desperate cry of infidels and regicides, but by the free, spontaneous, and liberal voice of a great and christian kingdom, speaking his own language, governed by the same laws, having the same interests, the same mutual relations, the same endearing bonds, the same defence, and the same necessity—by a kingdom to which he is united by the natural order before the political, and by the division of the globe itself, before the civil inventions and relations of society.

His duty and his real interest, I think it cannot be denied, are evident upon the same side. His religion is not less threatened than the state and property of the colony. Will he suffer the protestant to take the lead, and to do that for his temporal good, which he himself shall neglect or oppose, though for his eternal good? Will he delay to undeceive an ignorant population, that look up to him for instruction and example? Will he defer to unfurl the sacred banner, and to call back the deluded rebel from the colours of Infidelity? Will he refuse to tell him that he is deceived and misled, and that the sole danger he ought to apprehend to his religion, is from his infidel allies, from his impious confederates, the persecutors of God and man, who have sworn to extirpate it from the earth, and crush the cross to dust?

If any well-disposed and enlightened Irishman, of either religion, is averse to the Union, I think it is incumbent upon him to shew, either that the present order of things is good and desirable in itself, or else that it is capable of modification and amendment. But these are tasks I am confident no such person will undertake ; the first, because the direct converse is palpable and confessed ; and the second, because the conspirators themselves have declared upon oath, and in contemplation of death, that no modification or change, no reform or emancipation, will satisfy or appease them. Their fanaticism is of a higher order ; they will accept of nothing but this very catholic republic, under the protection of the atheist republic ; and to be a free and imperial part of a christian empire, neither meets their devotion, nor gratifies their ambition.

Another reason why such a person will not support the argument of modification, is this : because he knows the unhappy victims of the refined malice of republican atheism are led away, not by the hope or wish of reform or emancipation, but by suggestions that their religion is in danger ; because he knows the cruel power of artifice and design upon the devout and agitated bosom of poor and honest ignorance, sacrificing all things, suffering all things, and daring all things in the cause supposed of religion.

I am not often tempted to use hard words ; but if ever there was a devilish artifice on the earth ; if ever there were any wickedness more near and natural to hell itself than other crimes and atrocities, it is this foul, unrelenting, common mockery of both persuasions, this cruel sacrifice of christian blood, by the instigation and malice of infidelity.

It

It is the arming of religious sects at the bidding of impiety ; it is the massacre of christians by the practice of atheists.

That this order therefore can never stand is made certain, by the hatreds it engenders, by the factions that attack it, by the conviction itself of its approaching fall. But that the precarious and partial connexion between the two islands cannot last upon the present footing, is not so clearly deducible, from the experience of the past, from the debates in Ireland upon war and peace, and the separating policy of its parliament in the regency bills ; as from the nature of the thing itself, and the real, necessary, and indefeasible dependance of Ireland, in spite of the legal and formal independence. The present order is at war with the order of nature, and the law of necessity ; and whether it shall be overthrown or not by a separate regency, or by contradictory votes upon peace and war, it

it only exists at all by being constantly evaded, and in exact proportion to the violence it receives. In times of tranquillity, (if one might dream of those) it must be tamed by corruption into the control and obedience of England: in war it must either partake of force in the dangers of England, or be subdued by her as her first and most dangerous enemy. It is suspended altogether by the present divided state, and the colonists having thrown themselves into the arms of their parent country, for protection against France, and against the nation where they have settled, have fully proved how impossible is the reality of independence, and how dangerous the illusion.

That the present order cannot last, and ought not to be re-established, arises also out of the state, dangers, and necessities of England herself. It is impossible for her to adopt as any part of a settled and permanent policy, the protection of her colony under the present

present circumstances, and to affect to hold her up in every danger, commotion, and general insurrection, to which this fatal system exposes her. It were better for England that her colony, and the whole island of Ireland were precipitated to the bottom of the ocean, than that they should remain to her the charge, the danger, and the distraction they have been, in a war in which she possessed no hope of escape or victory, no chance of salvation, but Unanimity. It were better Ireland were blotted from the map, and expunged from the list of nations, than that she should remain this diversion of our power and force, this arsenal of attack and injury, this source of danger and annoyance, and this devouring gulph of our blood and resources.

It results clearly, and beyond the power of equivocation to contradict or evade, that if the settlement of 1782 were final; if it were meant and designed not only, as I think it was,

Was, by the two parliaments who contracted, but by the ministers who planned it, as a definitive settlement ; I say, it results clearly in point of fact, that the ministers and the parliaments have been deceived ; that it has not proved what they intended ; that it has not produced the effect they had in contemplation ; and that they did one thing, while they stipulated another. Instead of a final settlement, they procured eternal feuds and rebellion—instead of independence, a corrupt dependence—instead of imperial identity, distinct regencies and contradictory titles in the crown itself, with discussions upon war and peace—instead of content, commotion—instead of order, treason—instead of gratitude and affection, and tranquillity, foreign counsels, bloody conspiracies, and general insurrection.

What then are these final contracts, which no mistake nor error, no repentance, nor experience

rience of ill can loosen or unbind? What are the grants, which neither deception in the giver, nor injury to the endowed, can defeat or avoid? Shall an improper grant of the crown be set aside in the courts of law for want of the presumed information in the sovereign, and an act of state, in which nations are deceived and misled, be perpetual, in spite of experiment and remorse? Are the people of Ireland massacred and starved? Is England exhausted, and exposed to every wound of war and insurrection, and yet we must stand to the condition? We must inherit, in spite of our own disclaim; we must take unwilling, the benefit of the entail, and enjoy the fee-simple of our calamities? Would I break then the treaty we have signed? Would I violate the faith of Parliament? would I resume the controul we have abandoned, and the independence to which we have subscribed? I would *not* do it; because we can do better, because we can incorporate and ad-

mit Ireland into our own imperial state; because we can advance instead of receding; because we can confer advantages, and privileges, and safety, and perfect liberty, instead of returning to the crude state of colony and metropolis—because, instead of dependence and protection, we can offer union and identity of power and state; instead of inferiority, participation; instead of humiliation, glory. But would I do it in any case, and under any circumstances? It is not left to do—it is done already by necessity, and the nature of things themselves, which parchments cannot alter. But I would do it. By what law? By what right? Not for error, not for incompetence—but by that law which Heaven itself has ordained, that the safety of the people should be the law supreme; by that eternal paramount authority, by which every lawful constitution, under every form and name of human society, holds, at every moment, the full, absolute, entire, and perfect

fect sovereign right, (with its correspondent duty) to redress every evil, to provide for every emergency, to defend the people from every danger, and to succour them under every calamity.

The more I examine the antient policy and conduct of England, with regard to Ireland, I beg leave to repeat it, the more kind and generous I find it towards the colony, and I think her only real reproach has been, neglect of the natives: even now, that the mis-government and misfortunes of the colony seem, perhaps, to call for acts of rigour, and forfeiture; what is the conduct of the parent state, and what the language she holds to her libertine? Does she resume her charters? Does she cancel her grants? Does she revoke the independence he has extorted from her, or place him in a state of pupilage again? No. She entreats with maternal fondness to draw closer, for the common benefit and safety,

those bonds, which have always knit them together in interest and affection. She desires but to confirm and strengthen that REAL UNION, which has always subsisted between them, in spite of political names, and legal distinctions. She wishes to protect him still, but with more efficacy and vigour, and to be able to extend her beneficence to three millions of wretched natives, whom he cannot oppress but with her arms, nor deliver but with his own ruin. But what are the terms of this protection, and what the price she sets upon her beneficence? Is it the surrender of territory? Is it taxation? Is it the abandonment of any good, or of any power? America complained that she was taxed without representation, but Ireland is invited to send an hundred commoners, and an equal proportion of her peers. But is not this number adequate and sufficient? Scotland, with more than double the population of the colony (for the native is not yet represented at all) has never made this complaint.

plaint. She has never complained of any combination of the English majority to oppress her counties, or suspected such an injury, more than Yorkshire or Cornwall. She has never complained that her people did not enjoy their full proportion of public office, emolument, and power, and of the favours and countenance of the crown. Her influence in the British cabinet, on the contrary, has been the burthen of English jealousy, the theme of constant invective, and sometimes, of deep and serious accusation. But England has never been accused, by the blackest malice of irritated recrimination, of the least injustice, unkindness, or prejudice, against the united kingdom. What just, or rather what possible reason is there for Ireland to apprehend, against the experience of a whole century? Were the thoughts of England hostile and designing, she would not present this Union. She would say to her colony—You have abused and misgoverned, and

and are incapable to govern, and therefore your power is forfeited, and your right reverted ;—you have been a bad master, I cancel your authority ;—you have been a bad child, and I disinherit you. This would be the language of the angry parent.—Let us listen to her accents : “ Let us govern together.” Is that cruel, or oppressive, or unjust ? “ Come and take your seat in my council and my senate :” Is that hard or unnatural ? “ Come, and let us consult together for the common cause in the imperial senate of both islands ; depute your portion of wisdom and virtue ; take your share in the general administration :” Is this partial, or exclusive, or ungenerous ?

Is it ungenerous in England, to give this end to the local calamities of Ireland, and call

call her to the full participation of British blessings? Is it ungenerous to take her share in the crimes, and accuse herself of the mis-government of her colony? and instead of taxing it with ingratitude, to blame her own preposterous indulgence, and that fatal weakness, which misled and deceived it? which granted a boon it was not able to receive, and exposed it to seductions and perils beyond its strength to combat, or its power to repel? What is there in all this conduct injurious or over-bearing? Is there any insult, as a part of the Parliament of Ireland thought, in offering the condition of Britons, and the participation of empire to our own colony? Is there any insult or any injury in offering it to the descendants of those natives, who have always been oppressed by our colony, and done homage to our crown? It is not a French incorporation, it is not a republican fraternity that Britain offers. She does

does not take their magistrates as hostages, nor impose contributions, nor drag away the youth of the kingdom in fetters and chains by military requisitions. She does not enthrone mechanics and felons in the government, in order to govern it. She does not throw down the altars and erect impiety. She does not ordain licentiousness and terror. What, I ask of any honest colonist, what is it you are afraid of?—Of being independent, who have only the name and miserable mockery of independance? of being in tranquillity, who are torn and tortured with civil wars and hostile invasions? of seeing the condition of the catholic by degrees ameliorated and improved, who have no hope of a momentary reprieve and safety, but in granting him a complete emancipation? of seeing your absentees encrease, whose troubles have caused an host of emigration, which can never return into your bosom but with Union, and

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as a consequence of Union? of seeing your representatives dependent upon the imperial cabinet of the united realms, who have now in your representative body one hundred and sixteen placemen, with threescore and ten aspirants of the law, and with all this a factious aristocracy, which outweighs even your corruption? of seeing your industry and your trade decline, whose industry is turned to the forging of pikes and the lopping of trees, and the maiming of cattle, and the murdering of men, and who owe all your trade to British consumption, and British bounties?

To the catholics of Ireland, I think Britain does not address a less kind or less generous language. She does not tell them —“ You are incorrigible rebels, whom no time can soften, no kindness can subdue:” but she invites them to such an order, as will

comport with kindness, and permit her without cruelty to her colony, to place them on the same footing with the best and faith-fullest of her subjects: as will melt and obli-terate all memory, and rancour, all invidious distinctions, all civil and political difference. Of the candid catholic, I will ask once more if he expects emancipation, and a full par-ticipation of power and situation from the colony ? If he expects it from the united monsters that deface his country, and have sworn that they will not accept emancipa-tion ? If he expects the catholic republic from the atheist usurpers of France, who have overthrown the religion and the republic of their own country, and overthrown every religion and every republic, wherever their crimes or their arms have led them ?

If he expects emancipation from the par-liament of Dublin, I will ask him if a handful

handful of men can emancipate a multitude? If an armed regiment will liberate a disarmed host? It is a mystery not very profound, that fear is a coward, that weakness cannot confide, and that injury never pardons. I will tell him plainly, the parliament of Ireland *dares* not to set him free. It is the imperial parliament, it is the power, greatness, and superiority of England which alone can break his chains, or contain him in the first transports of liberty. It is the preponderance, the invulnerable greatness of England, which enables her to be generous, and permits her magnanimity. Will he refuse the boon at the end of six centuries of calamity, of fruitless struggles, and tenacious oppression? Will he confirm and fortify the oath of reprieved or expiring traitors, that it is not liberty, but revenge, and plunder, and revolution, that he fights for? that it is the property and the blood of the English settler

for which he thirsts? Will he give this cruel right, this active cause of tyranny to the colony, after he has abjured the mercy and the interference of the metropolis?

Surely, for ourselves at least, it is more just and wise, that we should assay to quench these interminable quarrels, and extinguish these ever-springing evils, in UNION.— Surely, as an experiment alone, it is better, both for the settler and the native, than the prolongation of so many crimes and calamities.—I trust it will be *tried*, before we decide once more to follow up our victorious arms with bills of confiscation and attainder—I trust it will be tried, and that the act of Union will be an act also of amnesty and forgiveness. Since it is clear, *de facto*, that our colony is still dependent upon us, I trust we shall not aid nor permit her to repeat those acts with which she has not

blushed

blushed to reproach us.—I trust it will be tried, not only because it is innocent and merciful, but because it is politic and wise. For confiscation has been too often tried, and it has failed too often ; but union is a new and hopeful measure. In Scotland it has succeeded under other auspices, and triumphed over other obstacles. It was then a mere speculation, but it now furnishes experience: it was there choice, but here it is necessity. I say necessity, because the alternative that remains is such as nature sickens at, as humanity rejects, as instinct flies from: because it is rebellion, and military government ; because it is imprisonment, and torture, and sudden execution ; because it armed prosecutors and juries of soldiers, with their serjeants learned in the law ; because it is the curfew, and the passport-bill ; because it is invasion, massacre, and rape, and pillage, and conflagration ; because it is the wretchedest and most degrading condition of humanity, the most disgusting series of misery and guilt, the blackest and

most lengthened scene and procession of crimes and sufferings that ever humbled or afflicted man!

It has been said, that the colonial parliament is able and resolved to provide a remedy for all these evils: that they have turned their eyes at last to the barbarism of the people, and to the defects and dangers of their constitution. That they have discussed a regency-bill, and are preparing a national institute for the education of the people. But when have they done so? In March 1799. After they have rejected the Union, they are at least sensible that something is wanting to secure the British *connexion*, and to render the condition of the native tolerable. But are these remedies, or only confessions of the disease? what hope of a cure is there for him, who refuses the specific, and trusts his chronic to palliatives and delay? I wish to bring this point to the most direct

and clearest issue. If the parliament of Dublin can emancipate the catholics, and thinks emancipation prudent and secure under the present precarious connexion with Great Britain ; if the parliament of Dublin dares to admit the native to equal rights, and a participation of the independent legislature, then let them reject the Union, and try their own expedient. But I consider every man who does reject it, to stand in this dilemma. Either he must declare for emancipation, or declare that he is contented with the present condition of his country. Either he must admit the immense majority of the Irish into the independent parliament, or he must prove, that the independent parliament is competent and able to govern the immense unrepresented majority, and does govern it, with tranquillity, content, and success. But is it not both more prudent and more natural, for this independent parliament to melt into the imperial, than to receive the Catholic

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parliament? Is not its independence more likely to survive its fusion with the parent state, and in the arms and bosom of Great Britain, than when its doors are open to the Catholic majority, and its power divided with three millions of malcontents?

The Catholic enemy to the Union I imagine to stand in another dilemma of equal difficulty. He must declare that he expects something better than emancipation, or that he expects emancipation from a different quarter. And though he should be ashamed to make this criminal confession, it will not the less result from his silence and affected neutrality:—nay, it will not the less result from the denial, or the disbelief of his own sentiments. Unhappily for men, their passions keep secrets from their heart, or their heart dares not reveal, or submit them to the examination of the mind.

After having discussed so minutely the motives, interests, and relative situation of the colony and the catholic, it might be liable to misconstruction if I were to take no further notice than I have done incidentally of those clubs and conspiracies, and of that invisible empire exercised in Ireland by means of filiation and correspondence, and secret oaths, more particularly as these treasons and dangers have reached our own state, and pervaded to the very heart and metropolis of the empire. Yet I think a little reflexion will suffice to shew, that they are not entitled to much consideration in this place; and that in referring them to the general condition and calamity of Ireland, I have confined them to their proper situation and importance. For certainly the catholic and the colony, the native and the settler, are respectively entitled to our care and protection. They are the matter of legislation, and the objects of policy and justice; they com-

pose the civil state. To reconcile their interests, to adjust their differences, and to render them happy and contented with their condition, is the duty no less than it is the object of government. But what state or form of government can admit of jacobinism as an element of its constitution ? We blend democracy ; we blend nobility ; we blend monarchy. But to admit hostility to all government, and to every state, to all power, and order, and authority, to every class and every form of the administration of human affairs, as a quality or component part of a regulated society ; or to admit the revolutionary principle as we admit and regulate the three powers of which our constitution is compounded, were of all errors the most fatal and unwise. I have, therefore, thrown it out altogether, and consider it not as a limb, or part of the body politic, but as an ulcer and a plague. I think the jacobin will neither be contented nor subdued by the Union,

Union, nor in the defeat of the Union; but that he must be subdued by the execution of the laws, and hunted down by the magistrate wherever he is found. To offer him a government who is the sworn enemy of governments; or a constitution, who hates all constitutions: to admit into the state the common conspirator against every institution and every form, is to make peace with tygers, and treaties with Frenchmen. Whether, therefore, there shall be Union, or a prolongation of the present calamities, the United Irishmen will remain alike to be put down, or to be put out by the colonial parliament, or by the imperial.

In this point of view there is but one question—Which is the most powerful and most likely to put him down? and as that, which I confess appears to me (under the present circumstances of both countries, and of all countries in the world) to be paramount

mount and pre-eminent above every other, I address it with confidence neither to the colony nor the catholic, but to both, and to every virtuous and reflecting mind of both persuasions, and in both kingdoms.

London, April,

1799.

F I N I S.

CONSTITUTIONAL
OBJECTIONS
TO THE
GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND
BY A
SEPARATE LEGISLATURE,
IN
A LETTER
TO
JOHN HAMILTON, ESQ.

OCCASIONED BY HIS REMARKS ON *A MEMOIRE ON THE PROJECTED UNION.*

By THEOBALD M'KENNA, ESQ.

DUBLIN:

PRINTED BY H. FITZPATRICK 2, UPPER ORMOND-QUAY.

1799.

ANSWER

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P R E F A C E.

PERHAPS it is not more allowable to plead lassitude in any other circumstances, than when the mind has been for some time engaged with a question of controversial politics. I must acknowledge that I send these papers to the press, without having completed my original design. Although this division of the argument has become more tedious than I could possibly have conjectured.

I propose, at a convenient time, to return to the subject, with a view to insist more fully on the inefficacy of the several projects for internal regulation, which have been propounded in this kingdom; to enforce what appears to me, by no means unimportant in the present state of the public mind, that to be a member of the British empire is indispensable to the good of Ireland: I think it will follow, as of course, that a state of general incorporation is the form of connection, most eligible and advantageous. I shall endeavour to examine and assign the real causes of our relative prosperity for some years back; relative to the condition of Ireland, before she recovered in any degree from the effects of the civil wars; but in no wise relative to the degree of prosperity she might have attained, under a system of universal regulation more congenial to the people. The North of Ireland I must put out of the question, as its peculiar circumstances exempt it from the pernicious distribution of powers, and application of

authority. Trade has been pursued with advantage in the kingdom of Bengal, and at Cairo and Alexandria: Does it therefore follow, that the general state of society in these countries is perfect? Fortunes are accumulated at Cadiz and Oporto: Is it impracticable to correct the discipline of Government in Spain and Portugal.

Whilst the profits of trade in Cork and Dublin are at thousands per annum, the rate of labour within forty miles of either city, is at six-pence the day; or, which is a more exact criterion, the people within half that distance are abject and comfortless.

If any man were to impute the state of manners and industry in England, not to the suppression of villanage, and early abolition of feudal jurisdiction; but to two pence bounty upon woollens, and three farthings upon cotton; he should reason just as those do, who suppose this nation to have thriven merely by parliamentary encouragement, and who make no account of the repeal of the popery laws, which turned the industry of millions to the cultivation of the country. The English reign of Henry VII. appears to me very much to resemble the government of George III. in Ireland.

Most Sovereigns give bounties, but only the British state affords a gentle and protecting government to the lower people.

I must admit, that unless the supreme administration be decided in its views of favour, and judicious conciliation to this country, the projected change of constitution is scarcely prudent. Under the present forms, there are more resources for an evil government; and a greater number of interests may be collected to keep the people in subjection.

I considered

I considered it superfluous to add any thing to the very ample discussion, which the competence of parliament has already received. Still this most futile of all objections is dignified with the notice, even in the very last debate, of men of talents. From Mr. Foster's high character, and just pretensions to political estimation, one would have expected him to examine every part of the question, rather as a statesman, who seeks to warrant his conclusions by truth and policy, than as a partisan, endeavouring to give his cause the most favourable exterior. That gentleman has condescended to mention the powers of Parliament,

The Parliament of Ireland has altered the laws, manners, religion and property of this island. Was it competent to change the essentials of civil society, and has it no discretion over the forms? Or will it be proposed to bring all these former acts into hotchpot, and look for a new distribution?

It is essential that there be in every state, a sovereign power, because no limited authority can embrace all the cares upon which the welfare of the people requires a decision. Is the Irish Parliament that sovereign power? If it be not, where does it reside? If it is that sovereign power, it must be competent to determine, whether any proposition submitted to it, be for the good of its subjects, and to give it efficacy, in case of approbation. There would otherwise be a deficiency of legislative provision, which is just as preposterous and absurd, and inadmissible, as in ordinary cases would be a failure of distributive justice.

Suppose the French constitution to be the bane of the people, and that the only means of salvation is to submit to a Monarchy, is the sovereign power, in possession, inadequate to make that salutary.

litary change? Suppose the delegated oligarchy of Berne thought fit to abdicate, are its hands tied up? By these doctrines, an abuse with a popular aspect is entailed for ever, unless perhaps in case of a total revolution; for no one can suppose that the United Irishmen would consider themselves bound by our actual constitution.

The only question that can possibly arise is, whether an Union be a good or evil measure for the country? If the former part of the alternative be the truth, that there exists no power competent to effect it, is a proposition contrary to common sense, and must therefore be rejected.

The power, which a man has over his own existence, may serve to illustrate the capacity of a sovereign jurisdiction to make engagements for its extinction. The law of morality does not allow a man to commit suicide; but if the act be necessary, it is justified by the end. A man may not shoot himself capriciously; but he may go upon a mine, with a certainty of being blown up, and if he saves an army by exposing himself, his conduct is heroism.

E R R A T A.

- Page 8—line 5, for *nourishing* read *marshalling*.
- 15—last line, for *distinct* read *distant*.
- 28—line 13, for *deliberatively* read *deliberately*.
- 48—line 2 from the bottom, dele the *semicolon* after *the*—and add it after *empire*.
- 74—line 13, for *strangely* read *strongly*.
- Ditto—last line but one, for *misfortune* read *misfortunes*.
- 78—line 13, for *state expedient* read *stale expedient*.

CONSTITUTIONAL**OBJECTIONS,**

&c. &c.

LETTER I.

THE sensible observations which you did me the honour to make on my Memoire, and the candid and liberal turn of your expressions and sentiments, imposed on me a duty which I have long desired to discharge. I owed an explanation of opinions, which however formed upon full reflection, were rather hastily delivered; I owed a reply to the stile of polished animadversion in which you opposed me. Motives of convenience, and other considerations of merely private importance, interfered with my intention; but the delay has not, to my feelings, been unproductive of gratification and advantage. We have reached a moment when an amicable controversy may with the greatest freedom and facility be maintained. The decision of Parliament has reduced the matter of our difference to a speculative

question on the welfare of the country. I hold it to be a true, but certainly not a self-evident proposition, that an Union with Great-Britain is that remedial change peculiarly adapted to the disorders of the Irish state, and which these disorders do seem to indicate. Similar to your present feelings, I too, some time back, should have revolted at the proposal to suppress the distinct legislature of Ireland. There is somewhat fascinating in the matter of public pride, however remote, indeed however fanciful the share one may be supposed to bear in it, which fully accounts for the repugnance of many estimable persons to entertain this project. It is an alteration of very great magnitude, which merits to be coolly explained, and deliberately investigated. The increased activity of the enemy requires to be counteracted by new combinations, and new expedients. If his power covers an extent of territory which we cannot hope, and do not desire to emulate, it is for us to consolidate our strength, as the most effectual mode of resistance. That which impresses the measure upon my mind with most forcible recommendation is, first, the series of events which in the space of five years have passed before us; and next, the reflections that arise upon a view of the condition and prospects of the country. A credulous people, the easy dupe of artful politicians, readily enlisted in contests for power that do not regard them: the waving of an hand suffices to stir up the principles of difference, and that difference malignant to a degree one never could have calculated. Shall it

it be deemed unwise to circumscribe the sphere of acrimonious and unprofitable disputes, and to protect the land from their baneful consequence? This question is to be examined dispassionately, and I must rejoice in an opportunity of justifying and enforcing my opinions to you, and to those friends who may be induced to consider them, uninterrupted by any tendency to the warmth, which the most calm are disposed to feel, when an irrevocable determination is at hand, very adverse to the prejudices they have been used to cherish.

You have not altered my notions of the public good, but you have shewn me that in the mind of a man, who has considered the subject under different impressions, my ideas are exposed to objections of considerable speciousness. Either I have explored the state of Ireland with too anxious research, and suffered my mind to dwell too minutely on her distractions; or your examination has not been sufficiently close, or your modes of redress sufficiently radical. My aim was to catch the general principles by which people are usually moved, and upon these only did I venture to calculate, when I considered by what impulse the conduct of great bodies was like to be directed. You appear to me to expect, that the ingenuous feelings which you bring into private life and which you meet there, may be converted into rules of

general influence and practice*. Let, you say, the government do this, and the Parliament that; and let the Catholics pursue this conduct, and the Protestants this other; and then, all things will proceed admirably. "How rich should I be," said poor Henry in the novel, "if the States-General would pay me." Can it escape your understanding, that the entire difficulty consists in drawing these several bodies to a sense of what is mutually right, and of the conduct they ought to pursue towards one another? † A proneness

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* It has been repeatedly alleged that the advantages expected from an Union are theoretical. Now I appeal to any man of plain understanding, which supposition is more theoretical? that a constitution which has uniformly generated faction and discontent, and nothing else, will hence-forward operate more benignly, or that, corrected by an Union, its vices will be softened, and such a protective system be established, as that, under which Great Britain flourishes?

To this you will oppose the relative prosperity of the country for some years back. In a subsequent part I shall endeavour to shew that the improvements arose from the repeal of the Popery Laws, which was forced upon Parliament, and from other circumstances, which might as well have arisen under a general, as a local legislature; but which under the former would probably have sooner occurred and extended more widely. Every syllable advanced against the measure of an Union is the contrast of theory to practice, of what might be, against what is.

† It is observable that in Mr. Foster's speech this head is utterly omitted. One might suppose that gentleman to have gone to rest when the Commercial Propositions were disposed of in 1785, and to have awakened from his dream on the 11th of April 1799.—Surely no person could think

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to faction is the distemper of the Irish nation. What scheme of relief do you offer? To remove these fatiguing solicitudes that agitate the public mind; to direct the popular attention to different objects. Not at all. Still preserving cautiously the matter and motives of disunion, you invoke the virtues of patience and forbearance to assuage its effects. To be sure these qualities are inestimable, if they were to be attained, but they are the very contrast, the direct antipodes of the spirit of party, under which we labour; and to the existence of the one it is essential, that it excludes the others; so that the remedy which you and several others insist on, presupposes the extinction of the vice it is to be applied to. We should not stand in need of the aid of medicine, if men were uniformly temperate; nor of the guidance of the statesman, if they were wise; nor of the discipline of criminal justice, if they were virtuous. To expect that an high state of perfection shall prevail generally in a large society, or shall operate with any constancy of influence, is the rhapsody of a poetic imagination. To take, as the basis of a scheme of policy, a disposition to propriety of conduct, in which multitudes must concur, is resting the welfare of mankind on the chance of a miracle. General rules should be, not provisions

of changing the conditions of government, if in the actual state of it, the management of public affairs were not attended with great difficulties and perplexity; and surely any man might deliver an unanswerable speech, if you give him leave to put out of the argument, whatever might furnish a reply to it.

sions that prudence is to effectuate, but precautions against indiscretion. Every day our parties approach nearer to an equality of consideration and influence; and if an assembly be kept up, with scarcely any other function, besides nourishing the pretensions of these parties, and giving audience to their controversies, no person of ordinary forecast will insure us six months of harmony under any circumstances whatsoever. * But of all

* I have seen not a little false wit and reasoning displayed against a very sensible observation—that a description of our citizens, whose pretensions to consequence in the state are increased by feeling themselves a majority of the People of Ireland, would be more easily induced to acquiesce in establishments derived under an imperial government, of which they would be a minority. I will beg to enforce the remark by this example :

In the first years of the French revolution, all the interests of the country were warmly agitated. There were several Protestants in the Assembly, yet no one ever heard of parties of Catholic and Protestant. If local legislatures had been erected in the several provinces, suppose in Languedoc, where the Protestants are numerous and powerful, it would not be possible to prevent such parties from being formed and taking root, and becoming the principal occupation of the Assembly. But the National Assembly was remote from these objects of contention; and amidst the general and important concerns that occupied its cares, if any member proposed to introduce the topic, he would not be attended to.

Open governments, those I mean in which political affairs are discussed without reserve, are of themselves prone to faction—where there is a difference of religion, it tends in proportion, as the parties are nearly balanced, to increase this propensity. That is a very urgent reason to render Ireland as little as possible the scene of political activity. The parties

all other projects for appeasing civil strife, this scheme you offer of mutual kindness and conciliation, founded on a sense of obligations conferred, and of favours to be expected, is the most unpromising. It requires a co-operation so universal, as cannot possibly be procured; it renders the discerning and the wise on either side, responsible

parties of Church-Established and Dissident, distrusted Poland, until at length, the neighbouring powers profited of the occasion to interpose; and, after a dreadful havoc of human happiness, they completely overturned that Republic. The parties of Church-Established and Arminian in Holland, produced many bitter contentions and tumults, and at length proved fatal to that government. Religious difference exists without animosity in some governments, but these are close constitutions.

Scotland was before the Union in a state of the highest irritation, political added to religious; the difference between Episcopacy and the Conventiclers, like Protestant and Catholic with us, was artfully managed and fomented. A very serious tumult took place about the time of the Union, on account of opening a church of England chapel in Edinburgh. When the political motive was withdrawn, religious rancour subsided totally. Every sect of christians worships at present in the principal towns of Scotland without incommoding each other. There is at this moment in the service a very fine regiment, composed, officers and privates, of Scotch Catholics. Until very lately a sect was preserved in Scotland, with all the ostentation of a regular hierarchy, who only dissented from the Church of England, in denying his Majesty's title to the Crown. By neglect they mouldered away, until the death of the late Pretender furnished a convenient occasion for their submission: and so little was their former obstinacy visited upon them, that the bounty, allotted by Queen Anne to the Scotch Episcopalians, has been revived in their favour, and they now enjoy it,

fible for the worthless and the desperate; and whilst those are labouring to establish a good understanding, these are free (and they will never want instigation) to squander the entire stock of merits in a single folly of intemperance; in the vast collections of men who are the subjects of this arrangement, there can be no subordination. I have dwelt somewhat longer on this head, as so many opponents of the Union have discoursed in the same strain; although it may appear superfluous to enter into the merits of the plan, whilst the party that preponderates in the state, neither by it's political acts, nor the tenor of it's publications, discloses any inclination to conciliate.

Upon one fact all are agreed, that there is somewhat materially astray either in the temper or in the politics of our country. Some conclude hastily and summarily against the people, hoping that manners more smooth, or more expensive apparel shall exempt themselves from the impeachment against their species. Historical experience teaches another lesson, that vice, widely diffused, is the unerring symptom of a society, defectively organized, or regulated injudiciously. Are the Irish gentry overbearing and inattentive to their inferiors? Are the commonality restless and untractable? Are their tumults ferocious? Is their state of peace, a dull, indolent, insipid langour? Every charge that can be brought against the people, recoils upon the institutions that formed their character.

ter. Three modern insurrections of the common people—that of Poland in 1768, of France from 1789 to 1792, and this of Ireland in 1798, will be traced in history by a very uniform course of atrocities. In these countries that class of men were greatly depressed by their superiors: in Flanders and in America they were permitted to participate liberally in the natural and political advantages of the country; and the risings which took place there, nearly within the same period, did not differ from any other regular hostility. I accuse the habits and condition of my countrymen, as well of those who are spoiled by the exercise of power, as of those on whom it bears very heavily. Their natural dispositions differ not from those of other men with whom fate has dealt more kindly.* Whilst the adjacent nations were resolving into civilized habits, what has been the government of Ireland, but a perpetual scuffle between the state and the people? and in that contest it might have continued to waste its strength for ever, if the British government had not interfered, with views very different from those of our domestic rulers. The secession of America, first rendered it essential to concentrate the remaining powers of the empire. This inducement awakened, in the British government, towards the close of the last war,

* "Nature" says an elegant and admired author, "never made an unkind creature. Ill usage and bad habits have deformed a fair and lovely creation."—STERNE.

war, a disposition to attach the people of Ireland to the state, and led to the first relaxation of the laws against the Catholics, which, like every subsequent measure of the kind, was extorted by the Crown from a reluctant Aristocracy. But the government was too intelligent not to perceive, that however acceptable to that body, it would not promote the purpose of general vigour and resource to rule this land by force, and in opposition to the genius of the people. The Ministers sought to render Ireland an effectual help-mate to Great-Britain, and they only could succeed by improving the circumstances of the people. Next came the conflict with France, which exemplified at once the insufficiency of the means hitherto employed, and the urgent necessity of binding us to the commonweal, and to each other, by a more impressive feeling of affection and interest. The feuds of the Irish were to be plucked up by the roots. The system, that cherished them was to be abandoned.

Whilst to every man out of Ireland, the objects of our domestic altercations were contemptible, the condition of this kingdom, of Britain, and of Europe, has given the most alarming aspect to its consequences. Elevated above the considerations of a selfish, or a local nature, that sway individuals in this island, the councils of the sovereign contemplated the mischief in its full extent: and in the spirit of a wise and benignant discharge of duty, the crown proposes a plan of adjustment to compose the difference

ence for ever;*—the project is not to be listened to:—No, let us rather trust the repose of our country to accident, or to romance; the distinctness of Parliament is not to be impaired; we must not forego the pride of independence. To all this fustian it may be replied, that to sacrifice your comfort to your pride is folly. Parliament is but one of the forms of the constitution, the end of which, and the end of independence, is social happiness; and both good sense, and patriotism enjoin, to vary the means, if they do not correspond to their destination.

But what in truth is the extent of this independence? and how far does it justify the pride and pretensions that are built upon it? It may not be irrelevant to bestow a few lines upon this enquiry. Do not expect that I shall allow you the choice of weapons, that has been generally made on this occasion; this double game of two constitutions, one for use, and one for argument; one which we wield against Great Britain, whilst we smite with the other our own presuming population. I must fix you to that constitution, which we have been enrolled together to protect, and which consists with our submission to the legal establishments, to the British crown and empire. I presume you will willingly circumscribe yourself within

* It is worthy of remark, that there is no other project on foot which aims, or professes to aim at suppressing the feuds of the Irish people. Those who oppose the Union, desire us to go on in the old way, that is, laying the foundation of disturbances in bad polity, and repressing them by sanguinary executions.

within these limits. If Ireland does really maintain the port and figure of an independent state, there should be irremediable abuse in the conduct of public affairs, to justify the sacrifice of national dignity. The deed admits of no alternative:—It is suggested by the most generous feelings of enlightened patriotism, by pious sensibility, and unbiased discernment; or else, it is prodigal and profane, and to be severely reprehended. If the pride of place, reflected from the nation to the individual, elevates and invigorates the character of the people; if they are well protected, comfortable, and contented, what Switzerland was, with some defects in its political arrangements, but what it now has ceased to be, then he is a base traitor, who, even by his speculation, would interrupt the enviable enjoyment. We will consider how that separateness of legislature, commonly called the independence of Ireland, operates externally as to rank, and internally as to happiness. It will be incumbent on me to justify the opinion I have formed, by stripping our constitution of the false plunage, in which, for this occasion, false patriotism dresses it; and I hope to shew that Ireland, in order to be practically free, ought to be incorporated with Great-Britain. An act of Union, framed as we are authorised to expect, will prove to the people a great charter of civil liberty. To every other side I look in vain for a consolatory perspective. Our present state of connexion, is indeed, subserviency.—If we agree to consider ourselves blended with

our fellow citizens of Britain in a community of privileges and pretensions, we of course stand as equals. If we rest upon the capacity of a separate, but confederated people, whilst the confederacy subsists, we are necessarily inferior. Under the same head, the state of Ireland will ever be subservient to the state of Britain; but let the states be united, and between the subjects resident in either, locality cannot make an humiliating difference. If subservient, you will reply, we are so by our own forms. That may be very well for the few, who draw advantages from contributing to this accommodation; but I do not see how it can favourably affect the public. Upon these questions I must invite you to decide. Was Ireland ever decorated with the constitution that is now set up? At this hour do we substantially enjoy it?

In the infancy of the present European system, it was the fate of Ireland, (whether on an happy or unpropitious moment, it is now too late, and beside the present question, to enquire) to be attached to the fortunes of the sister island. At that period, there was little intercourse even between contiguous states. The great continental powers of our day, were in embryo. Spain and Germany had scarcely introduced themselves to the acquaintance of these regions; and Italy would have been as little known, but that it happened to be the residence of the Pope, and the center of religious correspondence. France and Flanders were split into as many distant principalities.

capalities, as there are sovereignties in modern Europe. Let it not wound the pride of Ireland to hear an historical fact repeated, which in her ancient condition and in the circumstances of this quarter of the globe, was inevitable; and which as an Irishman I should pause to lament, if the most idle of all things were not superfluous and unavailing regret at accidents we cannot redress, and at the lot, however hard, that Providence assigned to us. A remote country, not naturally very potent, but rendered eminently feeble by internal distractions, was neither cultivated nor considered by foreign princes; we did not, of course, establish a foundation for future notice; and when the commerce of States became more perfect, our nationality, with respect to them, was merged in that of England. The common sovereign naturally represented his entire dominion. We do not attend to internal rules between Denmark and Norway, or to the provincial policy of all those regalities that constitute the Spanish monarchy. We do not take the trouble to discriminate the king of Bohemia from the king of Hungary, or either independent sovereign from the Archduke of Austria. In like manner, the potentates who perceive in George the third, a complete competence to maintain the relations of sovereignty, witnessed by his capacity to preserve his royal faith, and avenge in others the breach of their engagements, never cast their eyes beyond the Court of St. James's, to learn by what customary instruments of authority, he fixes the obedience of his subjects.

The public law of Europe recognizes no such state as independent Ireland; whilst the rights and possession of our executive government, are inseparably annexed to the British Crown, it cannot recognize us otherwise than as an undiscriminated portion of that monarchy. The state is represented by the prince; from their relation to him, and not to Parliament, it is, that individuals derive respect and consideration among foreigners. Europe took no notice of the states of Guelderland and Friesland, yet these and the other members of the Batavian confederacy were perfectly sovereign and independent among themselves, in so much, that in the dispute in 1796, relative to the privileges of the Stadtholderate, they were at war with each other: some were in alliance, and others at enmity with the King of Prussia, in his invasion. We only considered the States General, the executive government by whom the republic was represented. These separate jurisdictions are now broken down into a single representative government; still our eyes are fixed on the head of the state, we perceive in this respect, no diminution of dignity among its members.

So the British state is divided into two separate jurisdictions of legislation, as it is into three of jurisprudence. These are municipal conventions which regard only the parties. They were instituted to suit local convenience, and upon a different sense of that convenience, they may, and ought to be new-modified. By the same reason that

that there are two, there might be twenty distinct councils of legislation, and the motives which induce us to abridge the number to two,* extended a little further, may evince, that we should be more justly governed by a single Parliament. The nature and essence of the connexion would not change upon an Union establishment, although the terms should be somewhat varied; and as to rank, and dignity, and importance, we have none without the circle of the monarchy, we have no claims in that respect, but as against Great Britain, our co-estate, our equal, and co-member; and I call upon any man to shew how the relation of these nations to each other, would be altered by an Union. The degree of strength and resource, which it contributes to the common stock, is the real ground, upon which, each part can expect to be considered. Limited as our independence is to a certain sphere of action, will you seriously tell me that we are more respectable, because the system of our Union is a shade or two more intricate? Although to each other, Great Britain and Ireland are distinct provinces, in the contemplation of mankind, they already form an incorporated state, under a single head, with all the external appearance of an united people. Our common prince leads us, at his discretion, to war and peace, with an entire conjunction of interest; he acts and regulates jointly for us, and supports,

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* There were formerly in either kingdom, two houses of convocation. Why were these assemblies discontinued? from motives of convenience, to check the growth of factions, and avoid the mischief of so many deliberative councils.

in our mutual behalf, all the offices of good and bad neighbourhood. The United Irishmen proposed to introduce this island to the world in the new character of a substantive government. I reject and reprobate their design, with feelings, such as might be expected to arise in the bosom of an Englishman, if a scheme were propounded to revive, under a republican form, any denomination of the Heph-tarchy. It is too late, at the end of 600 years, to look out for new relations and dependancies. Blended in races by the intercommunity of that space of time; assimilated in manners, in customs, and in language, it is now too late, to dis-turb the throne of King George with the antiquated dignity of King Roderic. But then, the abettors of this plan have something to hold by, in their argument for independence; whilst, to use the words of our act of parliament, "the Crown of Ireland is inseparably knit to the Imperial Crown of England," our mouths are closed; this land can have no place or influence in the world, except what belongs to it as a member of the empire. The conspirators were aware of this difficulty, and they attacked the law, the parliament, and the constitution. They were persuaded that your vestry, or grand jury parliament, is a false foundation of grandeur; and, as national elevation was their object, or pretence, they quite consistently aimed at the establishment of an appropriate, ostensible government, to maintain our consequence with alien powers. They set up against the entire constitution, - those rights,

which you oppose only to such parts, as do not suit your purpose. The Gallican innovators reasoned justly enough upon false premises: if that pride of nationality, which the politicians of your school assert only against Great-Britain, were necessary to national happiness; if the vanity of holding a rank among states, was either a wise, a salutary, or a just pursuit; then, the means which these persons pointed out, and these only, ought to be adopted. On your principles, without the dignity of being a separate state, we have all the inconvenience of being a separated people. It is mere delusion, mere credulity to apprehend, that this kingdom stands more high in general estimation, by reason of the bye-laws of it's connection with a people, at the distance of 60 miles; subjects of the same prince, in the same right, and with the same interest.

The definition of our political establishment is, a qualified sovereignty, vested in an assembly, which may be a wise and virtuous senate, but cannot pretend to be a popular delegation. From the law and usage of the empire, it derives a right to bind the subjects of this land. This is the beginning and the end of it's jurisdiction; and all the tokens and evidences of its constitution, are not imperial, but municipal. If supreme, in the sense that vanity suggests, why may we not act against any power we think fit? why not freely make contracts with any state? why in either case, do we permit the duty

of British connexion, to bar or trammel our prerogative?—We are bound by affection. Was it then, indeed, to check the devious wanderings of the heart, that the kingdom has reeked with blood from the gibbet and the whipping-post? I am warranted in affirming, that Ireland is not legally or practically competent to make any assumption of authority, which may be inconvenient to Great Britain. The vote of either, or of both Houses of Parliament, would not protect a man from the penalties of high treason, who proceeded to Paris under that sanction, to negotiate with the Convention. We have no Irish jurisdiction with which any foreigner would treat, unless he proposed to foment rebellion; no individuals whose execution, for the very crime of confederating with him against the British Crown, he could resent as an infraction of settled law and justice. Our Third Estate, is by fundamental provision, which we cannot alter, placed beyond our controul, and entirely within that of the sister nation. She is enabled to employ the direct influence of his negative, and his indirect influence, as dispenser of the public patronage, and equal in importance to either prerogative, his situation as representative of the community, in order to restrict our independence within the limits she prescribes to it. How does this fettered functionary resemble the representative of a sovereign people? Whilst it sits upon incapacities and confiscations, how can Parliament pretend to justify its rights, by a popular, or national title? What beside a deference for legal and prescriptive establishments

blishments, can render palatable such representative fictions as Harristown or Clogher? Numberless questions of this kind might be proposed without the possibility of obtaining a satisfactory reply, from those who pretend to trace the prerogative of Parliament to a higher origin than municipal regulation:—you cannot carry the claim one step farther back, without setting up King James's parliament, which was declared to be a reasonable meeting, and the Assembly of Confederates at Kilkenny, who forfeited their estates, for acting, in virtue of an unequivocal delegation of the *people*. Our own deeds, over and over again, bar our claim to imperial splendor. We never looked upon the sceptre, but to declare our incompetence to wield it:—We resigned the lofty pretension, when we surrendered to King Henry II.—We resigned it more fully and formally in the reign of Henry VIII. when we enacted that whosoever reigned in England, and under whatever colour, should of course, be the sovereign of Ireland. Thus admitting, that the line of succession might possibly be interrupted, by a title differing from that of direct descent, and in the same moment, renouncing any right of option, enquiry, or discrimination. The arrangements of 1782, merely went to remove a concurrent jurisdiction of the British and Irish parliaments. It made no alteration in the rights of the British Crown, to the obedience of the Irish people. A strong illustration of this law of Henry VIII. and in exact conformity to its doctrine, was the case of Ireland under James II. That prince succeed-

to a long line of ancestors; he had, of course, every claim that could be derived from the most obvious of our prejudices; although his administration might have disgusted the people of England, the Irish could not be displeased with his measures, for the means did not affect them, and the end coincided with their sentiments. Far from abdicating the Crown of Ireland, he came into the realm and challenged the protection of his subjects. The entire authority of the state, was possessed by his officers. A parliament, by election at least as free, by national concurrence at least as popular, as any that ever sat in Ireland, very warmly espoused his cause, and a people, almost unanimous, took up arms to defend it. On the other hand was King William, invited to govern by a private deputation of English noblemen, confirmed on the throne, not even by an English parliament, but by a convention of estates, and the doubtful acquiescence of the people. He claimed the crown under an appointment, on which Ireland was not consulted; to which, far from concurring, she gave every testimony of dissatisfaction; yet the Irish, presuming to resist royalty, thus acquired, and exercised in despite and contempt of their opinion, their resistance was treated as rebellion, and punished by a very extensive confiscation. In the glory of that empire, of which Ireland constitutes a most essential member, there are many things to inspire a generous pride, an elevated consciousness of dignity; but when you detach the pride of separated Ireland from the aggregate

gregate fund of honour in which the entire state participates, I am obliged to ask, where can an Irishman cast his eyes to seek for the evidence of his national dignity? We chose a monarch, he was expelled; we chose a religion, it was proscribed; and adherence to the one or to the other, was animadverted on by heavy penalties. With what prodigality was the ancient blood of Ireland shed; with what vindictive profusion was the proprietary body dissipated. Was it, that they betrayed the dignity of Ireland? No; for they were the Ireland of their day: but because, possessed with this very distinctness, they endeavoured to assume the port of an integral people, associated, but not blended; whose will, expressed separately from that of England, was entitled to some deference; and in pursuance of this opinion, they thwarted the favourite measures of the empire: and, had those who capitulated with the Crown of England fewer and inferior rights, than persons who came in under that power, and were planted and nursed by it into opulence? or do gentlemen claim by a Tartar transmigration to inherit the pretensions of the men, whom they destroyed? It does not consist with the appearance of decency, to propound tenets as legitimate, which were deemed unlawful when held by the Aborigines of the land, whose ancestors might be presumed to have made terms, for their settlement was antecedent to the royal title: upon popular principles, what beside compact with *them* could give a colour to that title?

title? Admit the Irish to be a separate people, in right of what are called first principles, to which you opposers of the Union, have become so fond of resorting, and upon which, as on a rock, you imagine the prerogative of distinct legislation stands eternal and inviolate; you will readily see to what absurdities we are betrayed when we travel beyond positive institutions. If Britain be an alien power, if the King's subjects of the sister island be foreigners, there is not a tenable establishment in the country. All the proceedings I have recited, the spoliation of property included, were tyrannical and unjust, and ought to be rescinded. But we are not a separate people, but a part of the British aggregate; such are we in the eyes of the world, and such are we rendered by these fundamental laws, which far from disturbing, you propose to cherish; and the adherents of the proscribed establishments, in Church and State, were a minority of the empire. The present forms of Ireland cannot be defended upon any other construction. The constitution of your state, even the titles of your lands, are documents of this individuality. Whilst I write a law is on its way through Parliament, to supply, what is supposed (able lawyers say erroneously, and the spirit of the institution supports their assertion) to be an omitted case in the catalogue of concessions. By this bill, in case the station of regent of these realms, should at any time become necessary, the nomination is exclusively conferred upon the British Parliament. Observe that to confirm a Regent is a parliamentary function,

tion, and the Irish House of Commons, who refuse to be mixed with the representatives of Britain, must here admit their body to be an improper depositary of this prerogative. I do not notice with disapprobation any act that binds, or affects to bind the sister nations to each other. But I ground upon this avowal, an argument against the propriety of preferring a separate, to an United Legislature, when it is to be given up, that the former can only, by its sacrifices, reconcile its existence with that of the empire. I ground an argument upon it of the absurdity of cherishing that tribunal, as a piece of national importance, which gentlemen acknowledges unfit to exercise the high prerogatives for which it demands our reverence. I see no paramount or pre-eminent token of consideration, reserved to Ireland except the *droit de potence*,* which is, in truth, possessed in ample plenarity. And as I cannot discover, that our national dignity is advanced, by being governed by the possessor of the English Crown, and a separate legislature; so neither can I admit, that we should be debased, by the rule of the same prince, and a general delegation from every quarter of the empire. I have endeavoured to argue this question, with a view to shew that the incorporation, now proposed, is no material deviation from the settled practice, under which our ancestors have lived

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* The right of inflicting capital punishment, testified by a gibbet standing on the manor, called "le droit de potence", was an high source of pride to the barons on the continent.

for generations; and that it involves no matter of deliberation, except that care of the public weal, by which every legislative act is, or ought to be directed. Prudence should decide whether the affairs of the empire are like to be better conducted on the system of a single, or a double legislature? In the shape of a point of honor the reflection is idly and intemperately urged, although, doubtless, it deserves to be maturely weighed, as a consideration of expediency.

There are men, who will call this statement, (may I venture to pronounce it fairly supported by fact and argument?) a diminution of my country's honor. It is easy to perceive for what purpose they enlist these lofty pretensions in their service. Let them be successful, and you will only trace the claim in the punishment of a deluded multitude, who cannot so readily cast away their predilections. High-sounding appellations cost little, they may be bestowed with indiscriminate facility on any cause or party. There are those among the opposers of the Union, who would cry up the government of Turkey, if they happened to be bashaws, and find the golden dreams of republican felicity realized in Venice, if fate had placed them among its aristocracy. If it be true that neither dignity, nor convenience are attach to our political condition, what motive to suppress a fact, to us essential to be understood? Is it the honor of Ireland to raise false conceits of a grandeur that does not exist, and draw the people by means of it from the pursuit of their genuine welfare? Is it honorable in order to render us less than we ought

ought to be, to flatter us with the notion of being somewhat more than we are? No, the ambition, the pride, the profit of individuals are thus held out, as the dignity and public good of Ireland; and will you be the deluded and deluding accomplice of that error? Not a peasant but is trampled to the earth, when he rears his crest in the spirit, nay in the letter of your claims of independent right, and of your jealousies against Great Britain. I have laid down the constitution of Ireland, not as carved out or enforced by our potent sister; but as it stands, the creature of our own legislature, deliberatively adopted by the high-minded Parliament of 1782, in the full career of victorious triumph. I describe our political establishment, not as any gentleman pleases to decorate it to his own imagination, but as it practically and substantially exists;* as it has been interpreted throughout that copious catalogue of confiscations.

* The gentleman, to whom this letter is addressed, imputed to my former publication, the confusion of civil with political liberty. I apprehend that I am not guilty of that error; but I consider the state itself to exist merely for the good of the individuals who compose it. Political liberty, or the privileges of the state, is consequently inferior to civil freedom, or the advantage of the individuals. The former is the means, the latter is the end. The one is merely subservient and auxiliary to the other. I adopt Mr. Hume's sentiments on this subject, " We are to look upon all the vast apparatus of our government, as having ultimately no other object or purpose but the distribution of justice; or in other words, the support of the twelve Judges. King and Parliaments, fleets and armies, Ministers and Privy Counsellors, are all in their end subservient to this part of Administration"—*Essay on Government.*

ifications which composes the history of this hitherto unhappy island; as it formed the standard of guilt and innocence before King Charles's Court of Claims, and the present commissioners for suffering loyalists. You may repair to Vinegar-hill, and utter sighs for a purer independence; but clearly the present constitution of Ireland cannot be supported on the foot of pride, for the magistracy that represents the state, is the point to which pride should be directed, and in that respect the Union with England has been complete for some centuries. The constitution you defend, is that which necessitates dependance. Sicily, Spain, Achaia were provinces to Rome. They were administered by a Proconsul sent from the center of the empire, whose proceedings were guided by instructions from the metropolis. The inhabitants of Italy stood in a very different relation to the Republic. They enjoyed common franchises with the actual residents of Rome, forming, like them, a constituent part of the supreme authority. The former was the subordinate state, the latter the participating people. The first, is the condition in which Ireland is actually placed; the second, that to which an Union would advance her.*

Although

* Suppose, which is not the fact, that Ireland was to become a province by an Union, the Catholics are in this sense, at present provincials to the imperial Protestants; the Protestants are provincials to the more imperial borough-holders. Now if the superiority of each part over the other be removed, the good of the multitude, upon whom this advantage would be conferred, more than compensates to the nation the diminution, if any, of its lustre.

Although the policy of a distinct parliament confers no external consequence on Ireland, there remains another side, on which the matter is to be examined, and there perhaps the merits of the institution will be conspicuous. I mean to turn to our domestic situation. The mediocrity of rank will sit lightly on the friend to Ireland, if, in the absence of ostentatious splendour, he sees peace, content, and comfort—the consolations of obscurity. We must then look for the kind effects of parliamentary vigilance in a prosperous state of society, in provisions for the people's happiness; we shall find it illustrated in the liberal confidence that a free people reposes in the delegates of their choice, and their cheerful submission to an authority they approve of. Affectionate solicitude for their constituents, will distinguish the representative body, and frank acquiescence be the characteristic of the subject. Governments which are not powerful, have usually their recompense in being paternal.—Really, if the state of Ireland presents this picture, it were sacrilege to deface it. What is the fact? It is on this side our wounds are green: It is here the poignard has been driven home, and every expectation most miserably falsified. Such is the state of society in Ireland, such the eternal struggle between rich and poor, not unlike the wars waged between the Indian tribes, and the back settlements of North America, that if the measure of our pride were full, and that we were eminently distinguished among nations, it would be

be wisdom and compassion to renounce our trophies, and seek in an humbler rank, a milder and more practicable rule of polity. Perhaps you will tell me that we have British laws and institutions. We certainly have, and the result of these parallel establishments, with regard to security, to the consideration of the individual, and to civil accommodation in general, is, in the one country, the very contrast of the other: It here is discontent, and there is satisfaction. How will you reconcile these facts? My solution of the difficulty is, that a chain of circumstances which I shall presently enumerate, rendered the establishment abortive as to Ireland; that the system was laid upon a basis not calculated to uphold the superstructure. I feel that I do not address these reflections to a man, who would think panegyrics on Parliament cheaply made at the expence of the people's character. Such patriots are however to be found, and they will attribute the failure of civil society in this land, to that common place invective, the perverse temper, and evil disposition of the Irish. General accusations, "said upon some occasion our illustrious countryman, (that luminary of Europe, whom Heaven has withdrawn to the repose of his exalted virtue) although they involve many, are only conclusive testimony against one," I discard every assertion founded on the presumption of general character, existing independent of collateral causes, not produced, nor subject to be changed by them. Man is every where moulded by the situation in which he is placed, and from the thriftiest husbandman, to the most prodigal wanderer on earth, he

he is uniformly the creature of the circumstances that act upon him. We have been placed under bad laws, and the effect is matter of astonishment. Remove this Irishman, whom they accuse of indolence to a new scene, and to the influence of kind encouragements, and mark the active enterprise by which he is distinguished. Inebriety and idleness in our common people are not the cause, but the effects of our public disorders ; upon these the short sighted patriot may discharge his spleen with unavailing indignation, whilst the root of the mischief, the system remains unmolested. Gentlemen must recollect, that the humble man has his value : In social life a function of high, of very high importance is assigned to him. Some means must be devised to allay the fever of vigilance, suspicion and jealousy, and to correct the habit of busy intermeddling which disturb him. Perhaps you will doubt the reality of this harrassing officiousness ? You are not conversant with the parts of the country it infests. It is not to be met in this metropolis, nor generally in the cultivated seats of the linen manufacture. You do not witness the evil, nor hear the complaint of those who feel it. If you seek for information, you are likely to consult the man, who exempt from the lash himself, and not employing it, is inadvertent to the conduct of others. The law gave to a part of the people magisterial powers over another. The law has yielded to a better sense of public good. But though the letter of the law does not give them the usual countenance : some men are found, enough for the purposes of irritation, tenacious of these magisterial

terial habits ; and such men will be found, until a radical change of maxims shall render their position untenable. Do not suppose I mean to level this censure against any religious description. Those who err in the exercise of power, must of course belong to that division to which power is confined, but surely the men of whom I speak are a minority, a narrow and a despicable minority.—How have I rambled in this description ! Let the man in humble life be protected, and treated with regard, and he will be frugal. If he is to be religious, communicate to him some better impressions, than those he has received. If you cannot succeed in this attempt, or will not try the experiment, do not weaken his attachments, treat with respect the things and persons he is used to reverence.*

“ May

* Unless it is wished to plunge this country into irredeemable barbarism, the body of Clergy, from whom a great part of the people choose to receive religious consolation, ought in common prudence to meet a very considerable degree of attention and encouragement. Instead of this, the Catholic Priest is, in some places, treated by our rural magistrates as a sort of wizard, who is to be answerable for the demeanour of the Parish. For his example and doctrines he ought to be strictly responsible ; but if this be extended far, no man will enter into that ministry, who in any respect is fit for it. It is inevitable; to have a Catholic Clergy in this Kingdom ; a very important care then should be, to have that Clergy of the best possible description ; so respectable, as a body, and individually, that they shall set a value upon both public and private reputation, and dread the diminution of either. Well-instructed men should be provided, and induced to undertake the function we treat of, as such only are fit to conduct the people, and mould their character. It was at all times a

matter

" May I live, said the Great Henry*, to see every peasant in my dominions, eat his fowl in comfort." Let them come to the fight, is the war-hoop of Ireland.

More penalties have been ordained in this kingdom since the commencement of the 18th century, than in any other country during any space of time whatever. And the result, as might most naturally matter of precarious policy, to send an order of men, so important in this kingdom, as the Romish Priesthood; to seek education in a foreign country, at the hazard of being alienated from their own. This inconvenience is however at an end, as the establishments for that purpose have perished in the present troubles on the Continent. Still a Clergy is to be supplied to the wants of the people, and candidates will not be backward for that function. You must have this Clergy of one kind or the other, cultivated or illiterate; the powerful men of the country are to decide, they may incline the balance either way. Let them be assured that if they suffer this order to be debased, the people will sink with them. A rational laity will not submit under an Abyssinian Priesthood. If they will not accept of the Christianity of the polished Catholic world, they may have those abject superstitions that exist under the name of Christianity, in some parts of the Turkish dominions near the Archipelago. The government has, by the establishment of the College at Maynooth, shewn a most laudable disposition. But one is astonished to find that the institution meets very assiduous opposition from a party, who in general display their zeal against their Catholic fellow citizens. Moral instruction is to be provided for four millions of the people, and can any man regret that the state takes up the cause, and contributes to it most bountifully? Is the instruction of millions to be compared to the accommodation of a single parish? Having said so much on this subject, I shall add that the project of making provision for the Catholic Clergy is not so easy of execution as at first view it appears to be. Something of that nature might be practicable, and in many respects useful.

* See in Sully's Memoirs this interesting anecdote.

naturally be expected, was to leave the people in their primitive condition, as to manners, as to comfort, and cordiality with the government. The end of legislation elsewhere, is to protect man against man, but here it was an intrenchment thrown up, in order to fortify one people against another.* I do not propose either to justify or impeach the state expediency of these proceedings. In a general system of severity, possibly no particular measure might have been misplaced; one harsh exertion of authority created the necessity of another. They were the laws of war, they were the lines and outposts of a garrison. Be it that those rigid courses were necessary to protect the recently acquired property, you will not therefore require of me to receive them, as a peace establishment of morality. It is enough for my argument, that in the agency of the Irish legislature, a competent cause is to be assigned for the ill-condition of its subjects. The British branches of our state occasionally interfered to correct the spirit of angry legislation, but never to excite it. These property laws,

D. I. in Ireland never

* An anonymous writer, whom I have before me, expresses with so much justice and good sense the sentiments I wish to convey, that I shall transcribe his words. Speaking of the religious liberty granted by the Empress Maria Theresa, he says. "It has been observed even in its first operation, to have produced, particularly in Hungary, the happiest effects. The most mortal animosities subsisted between the Roman Catholics and Protestants in that country, occasioned by the power which the laws afforded to the worst members of one communion (*who are those that are always busy in such matters*) to grieve and harass even the best of the other. The taking away of this *unnatural and ill-bestowed power* has strongly operated to subdue all animosity and dissension, and it probably may not be long, when both they and the causes from which they originated will be equally forgotten."

never found an advocate out of Ireland, they were discredited in appeals to Westminster. Lord Camden and Lord Mansfield were the first who cried shame upon the system. Lenity came from abroad, whilst harshness was the immediate and natural propensity of our own government, no unfavourable omen for the meditated change. No light inducement to prefer the usual composition of the British Legislature, to the native rule, recommended by volumes of coercive laws, and a century of inauspicious interference.

After the revolution war, the spirits of the Irish were completely broken : It is impossible to suppose, that with the aid of a conciliatory administration, they might not have been rendered useful and obedient subjects to the new succession. The Highland clans engaged rather more zealously in the cause of the house of Stuart. They felt the wrath of the government which they had exasperated ; but precaution and punishment were temporary, and a calm was permitted to succeed. That bulwark of the empire, which Scotland is, Ireland would have become, had she been blessed by a similar policy ; and resourceless as we are, would Scotland have remained, had the grantees of forfeited estates been negligently permitted to establish themselves in the government, at once independent of the crown and of the people, and with their power to transmit their jealousies to posterity. * The propriety

* It is strange that, when gentlemen impeached the efficacy of the Union, on the evidence of the Scotch rebellions, they did not perceive the inference to be directly against their

of these forfeitures is no question for modern investigation. They come to us sanctioned by the laws of property, and sacred let them remain for ever. But I may be permitted to lament the consequences of the event. I may be permitted to arraign the inexpedient policy that accompanied it: When England changed the property of this land, she ought to have taken measures to prevent the clashing of the old and new pretensions. Against the old indeed, she effectually provided, but took no precaution against the probable errors of the new. She gave us a government of hereditary alarmists, whose minds, fatigued with the eternal apprehension of reassertion, would never settle, and would never permit a settlement to form about them. Your notions of political right will probably be shocked at my assertion, that simple monarchy, without representation, had been preferable to the representation of a party. So at the present day a representation, which does not tell for all descriptions of the people* is better altered than adhered to, for it can never produce an impartial and uniform administration.

their opinion. The Union-government could not be put to a better test than this. It has withdrawn the Scotch from an ancient prepossession, which three times prompted them to take up arms, and under which they were on many occasions ready to act, if circumstances permitted. See Lockhart's memoirs.

* The Catholics who are often freeholders, but seldom freemen, will have their due influence over the Government, when the representation is confined to counties, and counties of cities. And considering how they are generally circumstanced, the most favourable events, for the body of the Catholics, will be, that the general importance of the order of freeholders should be augmented.

It was religion say some, It was democracy say others, the prevalent perversion of the hour, and transitory as its cause, which alienated the people from their duties.* Give me leave to say it was neither the one nor the other. A principle of mischief was planted in our constitution, when it received the seeds of life, and unfolded itself at maturity. It was fostered by the manifold discouragements under which the common Irish labour, by the intercourse between, squire and peasant, and by every thing that tends to throw into the hands of the former an exorbitant authority ; it was the result of that sentiment, so frequently disavowed ; yet so assiduously encouraged, that the mass of the people were to be suspected. Religion it is true was the catch-word of discountenance ; the victories of the French Republic suggested a time for insurrection, and the intrigues of that government opened a probability of succour. But the agents of France had nothing to create ; they found a vigorous spirit of insubordination. They found confidence circumscribed within narrow limits ; the pale of property somewhat wider ; but then, an immense gulph between the rich man and Lazarus, beyond the confines of which, no attachment to the state

was

* A question is very often put, why may not the Irish Parliament investigate and redress the grievances of the Country ? why could not the French nobility, assembled in their chambers of notables, redress the inconvenience of the people ? Because, joined to all the other difficulties of drawing them to the discussion, one of the most inconvenient things in the state was, their own Constitution. An incorporating Union, is the only change that can be made in Ireland, consistent with the security of the propertied, and the rational encouragement of the non-propertied classes.

was known; no feelings but those of outlaws on a doubtful frontier. Let me induce you to ascertain the fact, by passing with me in a slight survey of our modern history.

From the close of the Revolution war, by the surrender of Limerick, to the accession of George the Third, this country enjoyed for near seventy years, a cessation of hostilities; no sterility; no ravages of famine, pestilence or enemy; no assignable cause of backwardness, but what arose from political circumstances. It is usual to impute a great deal to the commercial restrictions; but how many districts, are there, equal in size to Ireland, in which no interchange of commodities is known beyond the rude produce of the earth, and yet the boors or peasants, are at peace with themselves, and with their superiors, and live in the coarse comfort of rustic competence, and simple civilization? Here seventy years of calm, only prepared the way for thirty-five years of insurrection. There was in Munster, an annual rising of white-boys, from 1763, to 1776; whilst, the propertied classes were arrayed in arms, during the war of America this other disorder ceased; in 1785, it again broke out by the name of right-boys. From about 1786, to a recent date, under the very nose of Government, an open war was waged in the county of Armagh* between Protestants and Catholics, until the latter were completely rooted out, and sent thro' the land to disseminate disaffection against the government,

* From what we know of the conduct of the British House of Commons, could it be supposed that open hostility should be carried on for months, battles publicly fought, and notices given to persons under the penalty of death to quit their habitations, in any territory, subject to its jurisdiction, without parliamentary investigation and redress?

ment, which had permitted these excesses. In 1792 and 1793 there was a rising in Louth, Meath, Limerick, Roscommon, Leitrim, Westmeath ; besides Hearts of Oak, and Hearts of Steel ; Peep of Day Boys, and Defenders ; United-men and Orange-men. Were the example, or the contagion, or the intrigues of France, necessary to these mischiefs, thirty years before the revolution of France was thought of ? Our Parliament has undoubtedly never been niggard of remedial penalties. *iubeo eum, like Moliere's Doctor, saignereri, atque resaignererit.* But no preventative was enquired after. The disease recurred with unabated vehemence, and will never cease to recur, until the tenure of power be generally changed, and the objectionable occupants of subordinate authority either varied, or corrected ; and until the government be rendered strong in behalf of the neglected peasant, against those who immediately interfere with him. I feel that details are invi-
dious ; let us avoid them by studying the case of our country in the analogies of other nations. Why have Greece and Italy degenerated ? * Why does the Mameluke government in Egypt produce the most wretched subjects in the world ? From these you may pass to another question of as easy solution. Why is the credulity of the Irish

* "Let us exemplify this matter by a more recent change, compare the English of the present day with those under Henry III. Edward VI. Mary and Elizabeth. This people, now so humane, indulgent, learned, free, and industrious, such lovers of the arts and philosophy, were then nothing more than a nation of slaves, inhuman and superstitious, without arts, and without industry." — Helvetius's treatise on man.

Irish open to receive the impressions of every impostor who promises to improve their circumstances ? Why are they so ready to exclaim we may profit, but we cannot suffer from a state of turbulence ?

Summary jurisdiction has crept upon us, until at length, the trial by jury is universally suspended. To what extent the arbitrary discretion of magistrates is permitted, let those bills declare, by which they are indemnified and re-indemnified. We have peopled the Navy with our malecontents ; we have colonized with them the outcast settlement of new Holland ; we now call in the aid of Prussian discipline to their correction : merely to keep the vessel of the state afloat we have been constrained to throw over board the most useful and valuable effects. As to the necessity of these measures, take concessions the most ample, they only tend to strengthen my argument. The partition is slender between Governments who voluntarily employ force, and those to whose existence force has become essential. I admit, that come whence it may, the fanaticism of revolution was to be repressed with vigour. My argument and my conclusions run in a very different direction. You do not wish to govern by violent means, but so completely are the subjects alienated from your government, that these means are not to be dispensed with. Then in the name of common sense, is this the eulogium of the principles upon which our state is constituted ?* Is it to stand on this foundation ?

* In a very judicious pamphlet on this subject, under the title of " A Friend to Ireland." I have noticed an argument, which may acquire some currency from the manner in which

foundation? Great Britain has been assailed by the same epidemic rage for innovation; yet she has not been constrained to alter the landmarks of her Constitution; a well assort'd distribution of powers

it is put, but when examined, will be found to make against the cause it is employed to vindicate. The author touches us on a point, where we ought to be sensible; the administration of justice. He compares the conduct of the British Parliament, on the complaint made of the sentence against Mr. Muir, Mr. Gerald, and others, convicted of sedition, with the proceedings of the Irish House in the matter of the flats issued against Mr. Magee, and, the exorbitant bail required of him. In the former case the judge he says was applauded, in the latter only "not censured."

In the Scotch cause, the judges were vindicated, as acting in strict conformity to the law of the land, and the House of Commons, sanctioned their proceeding. In the Irish case, no person ventured to utter a syllable in defence of the judge, and nevertheless he came off with impunity. The proceeding in Scotland, rather resembled the attachment cause against Mr. Stevens Reilly, which came into parliament, and was defended there on controverted authorities. There were other complaints made, before the case of Magee, against the administration of justice, but I do not find that the magistrates incurred censure. At present we hear no murmur of dissatisfaction on this head, thanks, to the fortunate selection of judges, which is not a parliamentary prerogative.

Now, let me say one word, for the different execution of the law, in both countries. Here, it generally requires an armed force to take possession of land, under a legal authority. The great Douglas cause, both on account of the rank of the parties, and the value of the estate, created the most universal interest through Scotland. When the house of Peers made its decision, the decree of possession was carried into effect by the Sheriff unaccompanied.

It was not until after the Union, that the use of torture in Scotland was abolished, by the united Legislature.

powers preserved the popularity of her Government. Power is not judiciously balanced in this kingdom, and popularity was never sought for ; enquire of that comprehensive chain of disabilities that runs though your statute book, whether the favor of the people was ever esteemed or cultivated by the men who regulated this island. Ask it of your annals. The representing body has lived near a century in open hostility with the represented, and exhausted against them the whole artillery of penal legislation. To my mind, the inference is irresistible against the form of political establishment that arose under these disadvantages.

Which right of an Irish citizen will be abridged, which will cease to flourish, in consequence of an incorporating Union with Great Britain ? Not the trial by jury. Not the privilege of free investigation. Not the security of person and property. Let me put it to the conscience of any man, who is pleased to bestow a moment's notice on these remarks, will the scheme of government they recommend, interfere in the most remote degree with his comforts, with his means of industry, and with his independance ? Will it impose, should the measure take effect, subserviency on any individual ? Will he be less, than he now is, master of his thoughts, or of his actions, of his pride, or of his property ? Certain Gentlemen do not choose to forego their parliamentary situations, and others wish to keep the avenue open for their ambition. Of all others, it is ungracious in those, who never winced at coercive severities to oppose a measure offered

offered as the basis of conciliation, and as the means to prevent in future the lamentable necessity of these examples.

I am aware that some of these opinions, may be liable to misconstruction, and in a political controversy one is not to expect candour in every critic. Perhaps I shall be represented as disposed to palliate the late rebellion, or to impute the blame of it, to either the executive, or superintending branches of the government. Nothing can be further from my intention. Our House of Commons is the center, in its present form it must continue, even unintentionally, the support of a system, which can never cease to draw upon Ireland a repetition of these disasters. Neither the present, nor the late Parliament are to blame; nor is there any deficiency of good designs and private virtues. The truth is, that the personal qualities of individuals are lost in the irretrievable difficulty of political situation. In the actual circumstances of our constitution, Ireland cannot without more than human exertions, be effectually served by her representatives. It was not the fault of Lewis XVI. that his subjects were withdrawn from their allegiance. It was not the consequence of acts of harshness, proceeding from the monarch, or from those who co-operated with him in the duties of legislation. Although not so actively benevolent, the intentions of Louis XV. were not less upright than those of his successor. The game laws, the collection of the revenue, the power of subaltern men, the habitual contempt of the lower people, the defective constitution of a *noble cast,*

east, widely diffused through all the classes of life, and interfering with the pride and ambition, and with every other pretension of men, whose birth was not adorned by privileges, all these * concurring circumstances of irritation had acted long and sensibly upon the people, and when the syren voice of reform sounded in their ears, they listened to its promises and were seduced.

I can account for the perversion of the public mind, both in France and Ireland; but I do not regard with less horror the outrages, to which it led; nor would I recommend in either case less activity in repelling the licentiousness that arose from it. If the King of France had, on the first appearance of insubordination, employed, like the British Monarch, his hitherto untainted force, he had acted well and wisely for humanity. But indeed, he would have been unpardonable, if he had sat down after his victory, to that very constitution, to which the refractory temper was, with justice, to be attributed. To the good fortune of subduing his misguided subjects, our Sovereign adds the nobler enterprise of reclaiming them.† The riot of Paris, and that of London in 1780, ought to have been suppressed by the same measures, but the former should have given occasion to a serious train of reflections; which the latter, the most groundless perhaps and unprovoked of all popular risings, did not in any respect call for. The causes, that tend to produce disorders

* Where they were not thwarted, the rule of the French gentry was affectionate and gentle, but it was capricious and did not brook opposition.

† This appears to be the object of Lord Cornwallis's mission to Ireland, and the exact character of his government.

disorders and commotions in the state, are matters for the consideration of the statesman, not of the magistrate. Let civil society at all hazards be preserved; but examine by what means civil society came to be thus imminently in hazard. Neither the views of the leaders in this late conspiracy, nor the temper of those who took the field, could have answered the purpose of improvement to this country. Their success, dearly purchased by the miseries of war, waged at our own doors, and between the tenderest connections, could have only added to our other calamities, the dominion of a people, who in many countries have tasted of power, and in all abused it; or, if fortune favored the insurgents against their ally and their enemy, their climax of victorious hope would be the anarchy of an armed multitude. With them no terms were to be made; from them only desolation was to be expected. What then?—Means inadmissible were employed. Is the improvement to be rejected, which is safe and practicable?

I must offer my protest against another misconstruction. Let not my objections to our mode of limiting the monarchy, be deemed an impeachment of the principle. We are not so situated that it should be necessary to decide between a government of will and caprice, and the rule of law and course of settled justice. Political, is the bulwark of civil liberty. I have learned as much as any other person to reverence that form of society, under which the sister nation has risen to unparalleled prosperity. I admire the system through all its branches and its institutions;

tions ; but if in the entire mechanism I were to select that article, which appears most essential to the perfection of the whole, I should point without hesitation to the tribunal which, revising the exercise of authority corrects, its tendency to degenerate. I have argued against the superfluous extension of the principle of parliamentary controul, and against an unprofitable and delusive imitation of British forms. When we pronounce this just eulogium on the British government, that it is calculated to provide for liberty,* and corresponds to its destination, we draw the line with accuracy, that discriminates it from our own. I am not indifferent to political freedom, nor inattentive to the means by which it is to be procured, or to the value of the enjoyment ; but I must not therefore be expected to pursue my object through obstacles, to which a difference of circumstances has given rise, and which that difference renders insurmountable. Is he the enemy of liberty who says of France, that it is not free, or of Athens that it was not happy ? There are few shades of dissimilitude between the constitutions of America and France ; but there is a disparity in the habits of life, and in the division of property ; need I tell you how unlike is the agency

* A political writer of very and deservedly high reputation, has made an eulogium of the English Constitution, to which, I so fully accede, that I am willing to yield the argument, if the description can be made to apply to the government of Ireland. " The British Government is the only one in the annals of mankind, which has aimed at diffusing liberty through a multitude of people, spread over a wide extent of territory." — Professor Millar's View of the English Government.

agency of either government upon its subjects? The very institutions, under which Rome flourished at one period, after a change of manners, proved her weakness, and the cause of her destruction. The civil privileges enjoyed under the British government are of universal application; but the British distribution of powers is not adapted to many countries; and still contemplating the absence of those leading interests, which are destined in that system, to be the protection of the people, I must class Ireland among the exceptions. Neither Wales nor Scotland appear to me to afford proper materials for a mixed monarchy, but both nations enjoy that advantage, engrafted on the capability of England. Ireland stands, at least as much as the latter in need of this assistance. You do not act in the spirit of enlightened attachment, but in a ridiculous and pedantic bigotry, when you chain yourself down to the forms of British liberty. The social happiness these forms confer, should be your object; and you should pursue it by whatever means it is most easily attainable. The practice, as we have before observed, is wofully at variance with the theory of our government. In the attempt to reconcile them by merely internal regulations, there are difficulties not to be approached without the imminent hazard of anarchy; whilst neither the state is endangered, nor are its material institutions, by incorporating the legislative councils of the empire and by that measure the powers and influences would be cleared away, which affect

the

the people unfavorably.* Let me add, that this circumstance of distinct and independent authorities in the same state, is anomalous in history. All other governments have tended to unity in legislation.

But this inaptitude of British institutions to the Irish state passes generally unnoticed in our political circles. It is there presumed, that to make ample provision for liberty and happiness, we have only to copy the code of England; whilst to that degree do circumstances vary, that in the exactness of the transcript we generally lose the spirit of the original, and the widest disparity is to be found in the effects of regulations, which to the inquisitive observer seem to correspond most critically. For instance, the law which limited the duration of Parliament. Until the year 1768 every member of the House of Commons held his seat for the term of his own life or for that of the King; it then was enacted, that every eighth year a new parliament should be elected. There was no appearance of partiality upon the face of this measure; yet it was felt in some parts of the country as a scourge; in others it was a wholesome, in others again an indifferent regulation; just as county elections happened to be affected by it; where the people generally were Protestants, (I speak of that time when the Catholics were universally disquali-

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* I mean distinctly to assert this proposition, that an Union with Great-Britain is calculated to produce the beneficial consequences of a reform in Parliament, without throwing into the democracy of the country a weight or power, which the experience of the age convinces us, is not to be exercised without abuse, or conferred without indiscretion.

lified from the franchise of electing) the representatives were placed under a salutary controul. Where the number of Protestants, and consequently of electors, was small, the nomination, pretty much as before, remained in the hands of some powerful family ; but in many places the two leading denominations were nearly balanced ; there, all the interests of life, and all the principles of action were driven out of the course of their ordinary direction. It is not necessary to enter here into details on a grievance which has been remedied. One description of citizens were, on every eighth year, the dispensers of a favour which was earnestly sought after by the most considerable persons of each district ; another party were incompetent to confer that obligation ; to which side would power, to which would consideration naturally incline ? This octenial law was general in its provisions. There appeared no exception on the face of it. As Magna Charta was only intended for the Barons and their free followers, so was this privilege designed to embrace a comparatively small proportion : it brought to perfection that monstrous constitution, as Mr. Burke appositely denominates it, of a plebeian oligarchy, under which for above thirty years we existed : it was the occasion, perhaps the cause of many subsequent disorders ; by enhancing the superiority of a party, it promoted materially the popular division and discontents. There can be no doubt, that if one set of citizens enjoy advantages over another

another, in proportion as they are less familiarly displayed, the preference will be less invidious.*

Again in the instance of the Place-bill, nothing can be conceived more fair, than to oblige a representative, who has submitted to the influence of the Crown, to return to his constituents for their approbation; but of your 300 representatives, 194 sit by private nomination, and family influence secures many more from the effects of popular censure. The sole effect of this famous law, was to add an additional clause, to the bargain for a borough. So whilst the independence, recognized in 1782, is exercised by an House of Commons, slightly communicating with the country,* it must obviously be more the game of the representatives, than of the represented.

Let me not be classed among the advocates of a very false sentiment, that a popular delega-

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* The argument applies equally to the more important distinction now before the public. And not upon such mean motives as private pique; but upon this reason of sound policy, that every distinction which is inevitable, should be softened as much as possible. One submits the better to inconvenience, by not being reminded of it. One is really less incommoded by the superiority of either a rival or a neighbour, when it is sparingly exercised.

32 Counties return	64
4 Open Cities	8
The University	2
16 Cities and Boroughs, in which some particular family interest predominates, but which are not secure from change, return	32
97 Boroughs so close as to be transferable property	194
	300

There is a greater mass of Irish property in the English Peerage, than in the attending members of the House of Lords of Ireland.

tion is necessary for the purposes of good Government. The British Parliament, although popular in a much greater degree than ours, would be an eminent exception. In the late Constitution of the Dutch states, there was not any thing popular, beside that widely diffused prosperity which arose from it; but an aristocratic body, governing by popular forms, should make up in public spirit for the unfavourable circumstances of its origin. It should cultivate the representative character; at least in sentiment communicate with the people; direct or adopt the publick wishes; and discharging its duties, with a delicate sensibility to reputation, prove itself worthy to have been elected. The British Parliament forms an efficient control upon the executive magistrate; it even answers the purpose for which it is designed, better than a more popular and tumultuous delegation. In that assembly are collected, the principal persons of the landed, monied, and commercial interests; with a moderate intermixture of active, aspiring men, who support the weight, and aninate the investigation of public business. The prosperity of the greater number of individuals, who sit in Parliament, is so intimately combined with the welfare of the state, that they cannot more effectually promote the publick good, than by inclining the minister to adopt their own views. The patronage of the Crown, which in a poor state is omnipotent, here loses totally its effect; it is not sufficient to compensate to individuals, their private loss in a public injury; they cannot of course, be blindfolded to the neglect or mismanagement of ministers. Whilst you see in

daily practice, the trifling accidents by which great property in land, in stock, or in commercial capital is materially affected, you will find abundant reason for relying on the active providence of a society, in which these influences eminently predominate. Who so fit to superintend the state, as men who must ruin themselves if they betray their country?

Contrasted to this organ of Government, in our parliamentary constitution, is an aristocracy of persons in office with fixed emoluments, whose interests do not fluctuate with the good or evil of the nation, who have no danger to apprehend, beside a total overthrow of government, and from this catastrophe the strength of the empire protects them. We have the name, not the utility, of the British system. We have not the same resources to carry it on with effect; the fabric is not supported in Ireland by those pillars which insure its solidity in the sister country. The bulk of our landed interest is non-resident; our monied and commercial interests are at best but thinly scattered, and are rendered yet more inefficient by religious incapacities. There is not a merchant in Parliament; scarcely a man who feels the fluctuations of the money market, and comparatively few of the considerable land-owners; the representation of some capital towns, and of the counties, absorbs whatever remains to us, from habitual absence, of a proprietary body. The seats for boroughs are generally filled by gentlemen, who enter Parliament in pursuit of promotion, and who have few sympathies with the public. Thus the security for a judicious inspection of public affairs in the one country is honor, in the other

a community of feelings between the governors and governed. The honor of our countrymen runs as high as that of any other persons; but it is a capricious sentiment, and the safety of millions deserves a less vulnerable protection. True, as I have already noticed, fortune is often worshipped in the British Senate, but she is not the sole deity of the Temple. Fame too has her votaries, even among the most energetic, and least affluent part of that august body. The wide range of its discussions, and the elevated rank to which it has arisen, give this impulse to ambition: Whilst there is but one incentive here to mix in public affairs, the desire of preferment; and upon those who come under this attraction, the patronage of the crown can frequently act with great facility. The fault consists in the excess. Men of mere enterprise in the English House are few, and adopt the sentiments of the greater number. They predominate in Ireland, and give to the whole a collective character of expectation. I suppose there is no gentleman in Parliament individually exceptionable. But every man of sense, even those of whom I speak, will admit, that one hundred persons may, each be an eligible member, to mix in any council of state, and still a council composed exclusively, or even principally of those hundred men, may be liable to strong objections.

It will be replied that some controul upon the executive department is preferable to a total latitude of confidence. But is it proposed that restraint and superintendance on the part of the people, should be abolished? The incorporation of legislatures goes to a transfer, not a suppression of jurisdiction.

jurisdiction. It substitutes an effective controul for one that is inefficient. If the number of representatives is to be diminished, the retrenchment must fall upon the most objectionable parts of the representation. The leading men of the kingdom, whether by influence or election, will still be placed in Parliament. And as to the effect of the measure upon the consequence of the country, and upon the protection and privileges of the inhabitants. The people will have more influence over one hundred gentlemen, generally elected for counties, and great towns, than over treble the number, most of whom owe no compliment to their quasi constituents. And that number of members in the imperial House of Commons, joined to the several branches of the Irish interest, who already act upon the British Government, will confer on Ireland greater consideration than she can derive from a domestic Parliament, thus organized, and thus afforted.

Perhaps, you imagine, that among the inconveniences that time is to rectify, this difficulty may be placed of procuring an adequate representation. Quite the reverse; time has hitherto enhanced the disproportion between the property of those, who interfere in the supreme disposal of public concerns, and that of the nation whom they regulate. And the same causes cannot cease to produce the same consequences. When a man of fortune procures a peerage, he ceases in general to have any object to cultivate in this kingdom, and lapses from active pursuit to indolent enjoyment. His family, at least, speedily relinquish the care of politics, and become absentees; the landed interest

in the House of Commons has considerably declined since the year 1776, when the crown became liberal of Irish peerages. A great part of the wealth, recently acquired, or improved, by which this perpetual drain ought to be supplied, is in the hands of Catholics, and these persons are also directed to other pursuits, by the nature of our constitution.

I conclude this head with a position which cannot be put too often, or too strongly. If the country does not afford materials for a proper controul over the executive department, some other provision ought to be made for the public welfare. The privilege of superintendance cannot by its nature be indifferent, but must directly lead to good or evil. It should not be permitted to deviate from public to private purposes; and if the situation of supreme influence in the state be inaccurately filled, such misapplication is inevitable. Jobbing and manœuvres will disgrace the Irish government, whilst it is obliged to act through the medium of persons, who do not disdain the practice. A man of fortune in the House of Commons is a figure of so much magnitude, that Administration cannot well resist him in anything he takes in hand. Even a man of lesser rank is too useful not to be gratified. The Minister sways the British House of Commons, but on extremely different principles: he cultivates the favour of that body, by not pressing any measure against the sense of the majority; or of the interests, which that majority are bound to cultivate. When he ventures upon other conduct, they withdraw their confidence, and his power terminates.

terminates. Lord North and Mr. Fox possessed the means which Mr. Pitt enjoys, of procuring a majority by influence to ratify their respective administrations. Sir Robert Walpole is said to have retained his place against the personal inclination of his Sovereign. What is the case at this hour? Does Mr. Pitt hold the reigns of government by the weight of his distributions? Has he corrupted the people of England? Parliament is but the echo of their assenting voice, which confirms him in the administration of his country.

When I published the pamphlet you were pleased to notice, I had in contemplation a more important question, than any that affected the being of Parliament alone. I looked to the people, for whom Parliaments exist. The views of government, and the circumstances of the country seemed to have conducted us to the eve of a great change of system; and the relation to the state, of a most comprehensive description of its citizens, appeared to be weighed very lightly. Ungracious as the sound is to some ears, I cannot, in discoursing of the state of Ireland, decline the concerns of one of its most important branches. I have not prepared the political chart of the country; as it lies open before me, I am bound to follow it. In an arrangement, which ought to be complete, as it was designed to be final, every murmur should be collected, every complaint be fairly heard, and judiciously investigated. Idle expectation, that the perception of inconvenience was to be blunted by neglect of its objects; as some animals imagine danger to be at an end when they have shut their eyes on the pursuer. I introduced

introduced the Catholics, not as you, and others less respectable, strangely represented, in the capacity of a partisan; but as a lover of the empire, and as an Irishman. I seek in an Union for the tranquillity of Ireland, the increased strength of Britain, the more vigorous protection of the world; but if the settlement was formed on a defective basis, these glorious ends would still remain unaccomplished; indeed something worse; for the measure of an Union, between these countries does not admit of intermediate consequences; it must be to both, the extreme of good, or the extreme of mischief; and the previous disposition which is created on either side, by liberality of conditions, by wholesome laws, and by the contentment of the people, must determine the alternative. Should we conceive ourselves at ease, because discontent slumbers amidst unextinguished embers? Such was not a bulwark, on which the power and glory of Britain could securely rest. Such was not a benign opening of repose to Ireland. With these views, and with these feelings, I endeavoured to draw into notice, by such means as I was competent to employ, that cardinal question of Irish politics, the privileges of the Catholics. As a necessary preliminary, I applied myself to refute certain notions which were circulated among the indisposed to that people; and to reprehend certain institutions, which were considered to be unkindly directed against them.* The moment was critical and

called

* Such as the Orange Societies, of which I must persevere in insisting, that they tend to perpetuate the division of

called for the discussion. If the government was to be new-modelled, it would be right to adopt such regulations as should silence every whisper of general grievance ; if the proposed change did not take effect, still the abolition of the incapacities I complained of, would render our state of society more tolerable. Having formed an opinion on the subject of uniting the two legislatures of the empire, I did not hesitate to express it ; but as it was not my primary object, nor the matter of which I proposed to treat ; I did not find it incumbent to detail the series of reasoning that led to my conclusion ; the point came incidentally in my way, and I expressed what occurred to me. Subsequent reflection has confirmed my opinion, as to the general concern of the country in this question ; and it has impressed the matter upon my mind, even more forcibly than when first it was propounded, as the genuine relief and exoneration of that great body, who under the appellation of Catholics are doomed by our present system to collective and individual inferiority : I have not, of course, occasion to retract any of my leading assertions ; I must still maintain, that by incorporating our parliament with that of Britain, we have equal security for the liberty of the subject, and a much fairer prospect of a sound and

steady

the people, and to counteract, by a combination, the beneficial effects of the repeal of the Popery Laws. The question at present before us, is of too much magnitude to admit a detail of these subaltern follies ; yet I must say that when people observe such a combination, and are enabled to collect their temper from the publications that seem to please them, absurd and silly as these publications may intrinsically be, it is an inducement to strengthen Government, as a protection against them.

steady administration: that the kind or degree of independence, which fate and circumstances seem to have allotted to this island, does not so support the external dignity of Ireland, as to become a legitimate object of pride; and, as it operates internally, that it is, what I have already termed it, "a great domestic cause* of irritation." I know not whether the present be the proper time and temper for the discussion of the subject. The care and selection of such circumstances belong to persons in an elevated place of public function. I treat abstractedly and in general, of a judicious change of constitution, and my private opinion is not to be affected by collateral considerations.

Perhaps it is true, that I recommend my doctrine by its negative merits, or, as you call it, by "a short catalogue of evils to be removed, without any persuasive observations, grounded on advantages to be conferred †." Your objection indeed is whimsical; shall not a man pull a thorn from his own side without a recompence? Must we, Irishmen, be induced by sugar plumbs to do what is good for us? I do not distinctly comprehend the difference between the removal of evil and an advantage. If you mean that I have not entered into comprehensive details on the head of

Commerce, not doing so in England from America

* Memoire, page 1.

† See Letter, by Mr. Hamilton.

Commerce, I must candidly say, that I think this question is to be decided upon considerations of an higher nature. If our constitution be sound, and if the operation of it be beneficial, I would not be reasoned out of it by cold calculations of shipping and tonnage ; I would not be induced by all the wool and cotton, and all the tea and sugar in the world, to forsake it. If its defects militate against human happiness, I want no other impulse to desire its correction. No doubt, should a treaty of union proceed, there will be found a proper season for commercial regulations, and the concern will be important ; but the settlement of the country stands uppermost in my mind ; prosperity and affluence come of course when your state is well regulated. The extinction of our feuds would be of itself a fortune to Ireland ; to pacify them should be the beginning, the end, and the object of all our endeavours. I can discuss no question but the means of drawing the people into amity with each other, and with the government ; and of rooting out, on either hand, the seeds of jealousy. Your constitution may be as brilliant as theory can make it ; unless you can procure this temper, it is a splendid deception ; and the utmost range of commercial opportunities is nugatory.

But this short catalogue of evils, of which you appear to make so light account, comprises whatever has kept the people of Ireland at variance with its government : The factions of the high ; the discontents of the low ; poverty and turbulence,

lence, each as in a circle promoting the other, and the inaccurate application of authority the cause of both. It comprises the monopoly of political power and patronage in a few hands, and the means that were employed to fortify that monopoly. A principal engine was the division of the nation into distinct castes, by the contrivance for each, of a totally different code of laws and of immunities. The force of this system is weakened, but the hostile dispositions, that were formed under it are preserved, with more heat perhaps, and pertinacity and address, because the parties who relied upon this as a bulwark, perceived the security begin to fail them. I concluded that Parliament was not qualified to remedy the disorders of the state, because the root of the mischief lies in the constitution of our House of Commons, and in the opposition of particular to national interests, which is not any where so predominant as within the circle of Parliament itself. I feel that it is incumbent on me to enforce my opinion, by a detailed explanation of the reasoning that produced it. I have endeavoured to clear the ground for the admission of argument, by substantiating what every Irishman ought clearly to feel before he assents to an incorporation of Legislatures, that the measure does not involve the settled dignity of his country. The point of honour, I hope, is ascertained, and some progress made in the considerations of expediency.

Let me first complete the outline of what I conceive to be the interest of the Catholics in the present question. This also is no unimportant preliminary. The situation of that part of the people may be thus described: A slender aristocracy, an extensive middle order, an immense class of labouring and industrious. Obviously it is more essential to a people thus circumstanced, to be placed under the protection of a strong government, than to be admitted to a participation of power in a feeble state, from any efficient share in which their situation must generally exclude them.

There is not the least probability that the factions of Protestant and Catholic will subside under our present constitution*. Admitting them to subsist, this alternative remains for consideration, whether would few or many of the latter be introduced into Parliament by an emancipation? In the former case, these few would obtain the usual parliamentary consideration; they would act like other men in the same place, and there the matter would end without any alteration in the general management of the country. If many got access to Parliament, they would form a Catholic opposed to a Protestant faction, precisely as in the last century, when the parties ran at length into civil wars, in which one was reduced to a pitiable subjugation.

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* There is not a line in this argument which does not apply equally to the Dissenters, and indeed to all descriptions of persons who are without the pale of the Oligarchy.

The grievance which most materially affects the Catholics is a disposition, ungraciously and for unkind purposes, to discriminate them from their fellow-subjects. A comparison of the effects of the respective measures of union or emancipation upon this temper, should form the ground of their decision. They are excluded by law from certain high posts and from Parliament. If the incapacities by statute were removed, there would still remain a natural disability in their general inferiority of rank, so that in a great degree they could not profit of the concession. When the test laws are abrogated, little more is done than an act of justice to certain individuals, and the abolition of a stigma which produces discontent, by offending the feelings of a large portion of the people. These, to be sure, are most meritorious considerations; but they do not go to the extent of the inconvenience; no restraint is thereby placed upon the untoward disposition I have mentioned. The remedy is, of course, not so substantial as this other, which makes the Government strong against that temper, and which removes the motives and powers that support it. On the most favourable calculation, not above twelve could procure themselves to be returned to Parliament, six suppose by purchase, and as many upon the landed interest and that of open towns. The occasional elevation of a dozen men, is not to be

be compared in point of national advantage to a measure, which either equalizes all parties, or at least reduces them to a state of reciprocal inoffensiveness. The British government protects the Catholics of France, Portugal and Italy, and if it were not under some impediment, why should it not equally protect its own subjects of Ireland?

Of two Parliaments, neither of which they can materially influence, it is more the interest of the Catholics to live under the jurisdiction of that, which has not been educated with any indisposition to them. Now the majority of the Irish Parliament has upon all, or most occasions, displayed strong marks of rooted disinclination to that people. Nay it is a fashion with many persons of high consideration here, to dislike a man for being a Catholic. This is certainly not the case in England. Protestant and Catholic, not having been known there, as political parties, for above a century, the distinction became obsolete. The liberal and continued intercourse of the fashionable, the diplomatic, and the commercial classes, with Catholic countries, contributed also to obliterate the prejudices, which formerly arose from the difference of religion. Except through the interposition of the Crown, which is the British branch of our Government, the Irish Legislature has never been distinguished for condescension to its Catholic subjects. Besides, the property of the individuals,

individuals, who compose the British Parliament, is so extensive and so much connected with the safety of the state, that they never will hazard to excite discontents, upon motives of a petty and capricious disapprobation. I am therefore indifferent to the declarations which any man, or any minister may make. I know the British Government is conducted upon principles of reason, and I can calculate how far reason will go. From this light only one may with confidence pronounce, that the Catholics will, on the Union establishment, obtain a total eligibility and, what is more material to them, that until they do obtain it, they will have an exemption from vexatious jealousies, and the practical enjoyment of the privileges, which have already been conceded to them. It may equally be predicted, that in a collective capacity, the Catholic body will not be advanced to be a dominant party either in Church or State, because whilst the balance of property inclines against them, it would neither be necessary, politic, nor desireable.

It may be right to explain, wherefore the Catholics cannot materially influence the Parliament, although they constitute a majority of the population. They are excluded from the boroughs by the Constitution of them ; and from the freedom of cities by the jealousy of the magistrates. You will perhaps ask of me, wherefore we were anxious to procure this franchise of suffrage, of which the operation is so much restricted. Because though we cannot have

have great influence; it does not follow that we should have none at all. Because although a Catholic interest does not preponderate any where, if yet the individuals of that communion ought to have the full benefit of their respective situations. A Catholic tenantry will vote with their Protestant landlord; but is it indifferent to them, that they, as well as their neighbours, are competent to confer that compliment?

It is in civil life that the influence of the Catholics prevails: there indeed it is immense. As they compose pretty generally the trading and industrious portions of the community, they are concerned in the greater part of transactions through the kingdom. The bar, wholesale merchants, attorneys, persons engaged in money dealings, will always cultivate the favor of this part of the people. Now the relative importance of such persons, will generally rise in consequence of an Union, and those who will relatively decline, are the persons most independent of these influences. The Protestant Prelacy of Ireland have generally declared, that in the event of an Union, they could no longer imagine the interest of the establishment entrusted to their care, to be in any wise endangered by the most liberal indulgence to the subordinate communions. Is this sentiment no recommendation to persons who wish to enjoy in peace the advantages of their country?

The most ingenious arguments against admitting the Catholics to political franchises, are to be found in the *Anti-Catholic* *Review* in *the Edinburgh Review*.

in the speech of Mr. Foster, (the Speaker) in 1793: they follow very closely the reasoning of Lord Bolingbroke, against a Catholic Prince, in his letter to Sir William Windham. But the analogy completely fails; for as the prince is made for the people, it is justifiable to impose on him a condition of conforming to their convenience; but is absurd to talk of making such terms with the people, for whose accommodation and advantage the state exists and was created. If you prove that a particular franchise cannot with propriety be entrusted to those inhabitants at large, who are obviously within its purview, the conclusion, in my mind is, not to form a monopoly of this franchise in favor of the few who chuse to think themselves fit to hold it; but remove altogether the matter of contention.

Embellish it by whatever splendid names you please, the government of Ireland is an oligarchy. In the popular member of our constitution, the weight of certain individuals is immense, and that of the people is inconsiderable. This bears materially upon the Administration; for neither are the ministers of the Crown acted upon in any eminent degree by the influence of the people; nor have these the benefit of that impartiality among his subjects, which must be the natural feeling of every monarch. There is a controul indeed over the royal authority; but as it is almost completely severed from the public interest; it is necessarily directed in its exercise by the private views, or at best by the personal

onal character of the individuals who compose it.* A compromise is made, such as has been usual under very irregular governments, and which if it were not the result of disorders in the state, must eventually introduce them; the patronage and internal management of the country is given up to those who have power to do, what usually is called the King's business; that is, to raise the supplies, to preserve the British interest and an uniformity between the two governments.

The considerable members of the oligarchy are, by the nature of their situation, rendered apprehensive of a popular spirit, and adverse to the body of the people: it cannot be otherwise; when power is not bottomed upon hereditary prepossession, popular favour, or the influence of property—the persons who hold it must be sensible that it is insecure, and that it is invidious.—They will seek to turn the popular mind from public to private considerations. Any tendency to a competition will be seized with avidity by men, whose motives are very urgent to promote it; they will meet in their adherents, the greatest promptitude to second them in widening the breach;

* The only thing which the King cannot do in Ireland, is to confer favour upon a certain description of his subjects, and that description, by far the most numerous. What an outcry, what an opposition, when any kindness is apprehended to them! so that the Crown is here free in its power, but circumscribed in its benignity—the very reverse of what is designed by a popular controul on the Executive.

for a rivalship in emolument is as much apprehended by them, as a diminution of power by their superiors. The exclusive spirit which they seek pretences of mistrust and jealousy to authorise, confirms their own exclusive title to preferment.*

I have

* Among the Protestants who are removed from these inducements, and the Catholics of the same rank, there has long appeared a tendency to an oblivion of their ancient differences; but the jealousies of the former have been revived at different times artificially.

From the memorable meeting at Dungannon, to about 1785, this disposition to harmony was very prevalent. The two descriptions displayed equal zeal to resist the invasion we were then threatened with, and shared together the Volunteer service. About this latter period the peasantry of Munster, fell into commotions on the old ground of tithes: publications immediately issued from the press, stuffed with aspersions on the religion and moral character of the Catholics; representing them as a refractory, perfidious people, who were to be kept at the point of the sword from you. The expedient succeeded. The passions of the people were set in motion, and the incipient harmony was broken up effectually. Another incident occurred lately. (I put out of the way the disposition, the very prevalent anxiety to insinuate that every Catholic was a rebel, and to confound uneasiness under the Popery laws with hostility to the constitution).

Doctor Caulfield, the Catholic Bishop of Ferns, had the misfortune to live in a county which was the scene of the late outrages. He, with those of his clergy whom he could collect about him, exerted all that influence, which in better times their function, and personal virtue had acquired, to resist the excesses of an armed mob, and at the imminent peril of their lives, rescued many from massacre. This was the conduct of christian clergymen; but it was a conduct, for which christ-

I have described the course of feelings, which like circumstances will produce in every country; but doubtless, the state of Ireland, rushes upon your mind as it does on mine, as a striking illustration. The persons most distinguished, by political, and almost by personal disinclination to that material branch of the people, the Catholics, are to be found among the parliamentary interests; those who endeavour principally to make Popery a bugbear, are men in office under corporations, and subordinately under government. I have no idea that any particular disapprobation of religious tenets enters into this hostility. The term of division is convenient; but if any other equally answered the design, it would equally be made use of. You may talk, and I am sure you believe it, of advances to conciliate. The minis-
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terian clergymen deserve every applause that can be bestowed upon a sublime discharge of duty; yet there are persons so much mortified to perceive, that Roman Catholic ecclesiastics have acted nobly, that books and paragraphs have been circulated in order, by blackening the motives of these gentlemen, and detracting from their merit, to prevent this amiable and heroic conduct from making a suitable impression on the minds of their fellow citizens. There are many persons now alive, who recollect, when it was very usual to terrify the Protestants by reports of sham plots, and even days were named, when the Catholics, it was asserted, were to rise and massacre them. These artifices have fallen into disuse, since the affairs of this country came to be more closely looked after by the British Administration; and since the Government by Lords Justices was discontinued. Lord Townshend was the first Viceroy who permanently resided, and in his attempts to break the aristocracy, he found it expedient to bestow some little countenance on the subordinate religion.

ters of the Crown perceived the wretched policy under which this country languished, and they procured laws to be enacted favourable to the Catholics.* Many liberal and enlightened Protestants did cordially adopt the change. But from that party, the entire mass of those, who by the coarseness of their habits, or of their understanding, may be said to constitute the vulgar, observed with great spleen the advancement of men to the order of fellow citizens, whom they had been accustomed to regard as subordinate; and their jealousy was countenanced by a large portion of the powerful. The novelty of their situation, the warmth of controversy, but above all the unneighbourly temper that broke out, whilst the repeal of the popery laws was agitated, did betray many of the Catholics into political indiscretion.†

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* In 1778 the first relaxation of the Popery laws took place, and so much was the merit of this measure to be attributed to the royal interposition, that when in the beginning of the session, a bill, far less extensive, was proposed, it was contemptuously rejected. On the first attempt the House was left to itself.

† I allude here to acts of alienation, not from the state, but from the individuals in authority. As to the rebellion, I conceive the remote operation of the popery laws to have conduced to it, by throwing too much power into the hands of private gentlemen, by preventing the diffusion of property, and so creating a lawless character in the common people; but certainly it had nothing in it of political pretensions of the one party against the other. If the rebellion had not been suppressed, there is no doubt it must have proved fatal to religion in general. The people here, precisely as in France,

were

On the whole, what you consider advances to conciliate, were accompanied by circumstances which appear to me to have rather repelled each people from the other. The texture that legislation attempted to weave, manners unravelled as assiduously. There are families in Ireland, who, having acted for generations upon this crooked policy of disunion, have at length lost the clue to their conduct, and candidly conceive that whilst inflamed by passion, they pursue their interest, they are cultivating a sober and judicious principle. Tradition, education, intercourse have contributed, so entirely to work into the frame of their minds, the anti-popular prepossession, that in the modern manifestations of zeal for Protestantism, as a political not a religious designation, there is infinitely less of pre-determination than of character.

To a body thus constituted, the crown must under our present forms resort, in order to carry on the government without obstruction; and its consent must be procured by the terms I have specified. Now can you for an instant argue that this is a suitable organ for the management of the most divided people on the earth, and of the most jarring interests? Itself a principal in the dispute, it-

self

were fanaticised by Deists. If they had proceeded much farther, they would have been induced, as they were in France, to leave their Pastors in a minority of timid devotees and women, and the former pretensions of that clergy to popularity, would have occasioned to them a very bitter persecution. I say with confidence, that the sentiments I here express, were, pending and previous to the late commotions, entertained by the heads of the Catholic clergy in this kingdom.

self the soul and prime mover of the conflict. Let the Crown be relieved from this necessity, encouragement and protection will be dispensed according to the feelings and interest of the Sovereign; they will be dispensed indiscriminately, for the situation of a Prince places him above the views and quarrels which pass from private into public life; he cannot be sensible to any other division of his people, than of those who are, or who are not refractory to his government; those who make his dominions flourish or who neglect them. Here are my premises: Ireland stands eminently in need of an impartial Administration; strangely predisposed to disunion and unsocial humours, by religious difference, it requires a vigorous, a steady, and an even-handed government to restrain or counteract the unhappy propensity. Can you deny my conclusion, that it is not so consonant to the welfare of the country, to be governed by persons, who are themselves parties to the factions that distract us, as by a power that nature and situation render indifferent, and which in addition presents an equal security for our civil liberties? If with you, I attributed to accident, any part of the temper which we all deplore, I should be disposed with you to expect the remedy from time and patience. The history of Europe for a few years back, that rich harvest of experience, has instructed me not to admire the short cut to political improvement. But it is here I beg leave particularly to remind you, that the source of our country's misfortune seems to lie deeper than you conclude from your examination — they must

be traced to influences and interests, arising from the organization of our constitution, and which contain a renovating principle of discord, calculated to endure to the utmost term of its existence; where there is partiality in the exercise, or distribution of power, he who is called on to obey, will to the end of time perform his duty with reluctance. Where there is even the appearance of suspicion of partiality, the subject will not be cordial. I do not accuse our parliamentary leaders of any conduct that is rare, extraordinary, or unprecedented. Power is grateful, and few who have a situation to preserve, are philosophically scrupulous in employing the means, which are most easy and effectual for their purpose. The foible is of human nature, and for that very reason to human nature I would apply myself, and endeavour to counteract a general infirmity, by principles of equally extensive operation. The heads of the nation are subjected to certain influences and interests; let the misguiding motives be removed, and the conduct of those whom they affect will receive a new direction, and through the land new springs of action will be generally communicated. This is not a narrow or a palliative policy, but broad and fundamental, such as the exigency demands; and in analogy to the means, by which, when the heart is found, you seek to reclaim your friend, to rectify the faults of habit, and the errors either of his education or his judgment. Reform the Irish House of Commons, and you have a democracy; the consequence is unavoidable, if the alteration be on any very capacious scale; and if

it be not, the oligarchy is merely shifted into other hands, without any accession to the popular interest from the transfer. Repeal the distinguishing laws ; good ; but you cannot by your act of Parliament reach the spirit of distinction. The tendency to disunion will subsist, with all the irritating circumstances that accompany that temper, so long as these interests are preserved, which give to persons of the very first influence in the land, a powerful inducement to encourage it. And they never will want a pretence; for whilst the lower people are wretched, they will be turbulent ; and the name of a common religion will furnish the ground of jealous accusation against the Catholics of more improved condition. Political parties will attach themselves as it may suit their purpose, either to the side of those who are unwilling to acknowledge a superior, or of these, who, with less appearance of propriety, refuse to admit an equal. The Catholics, as more exposed to the abuses of power, as more generally dependant, and standing more in need of protection and quiet, seem likely to be the greatest sufferers in this game of politicians. It may be very desirable for party leaders to be at the head of that people ; but who will assert that it is good for them to be the footstool of factions ? Perhaps, you will tell me that this propensity to division, is the inherent vice of free constitutions. True it is so ; we are not therefore to encrease the causes of difference, in number and malignity ; without this inconvenience, we can have the secure enjoyment of civil liberty, under the sanction and superintendance of a popular assembly, with the advantage of representation, in my opinion, to an adequate extent,

tent, but beyond question, in a more ample degree, than at present we enjoy it. In common life, a man would be warned by habitual infirmity, to avoid the occasion of his misfortunes. And shall not Ireland, to whom feuds and strifes have cost so dear, prefer that form of free government, which is best protected against the recurrence of the very disasters, we complain of? What, although amidst scrambles for authority, some Catholics might get within the precincts of the oligarchy. Catholic, or peasant, or by whatever name you please to call them, the people would not, therefore, be exonerated from the heavy hand of power. It was on this view of the subject, and upon this reasoning I grounded my assertion, that the necessity of Ireland called for a “a great change of manners, to be founded on a great change of Constitution.”

Sir, the evil of the restrictive laws has been lost in the magnitude of their consequences. The statutes of Queen Anne formed the nucleus of a system of abuses. Not the primitive mischief alone, but all its incidents are to be rectified. All the bearings, and relations of authority are to be varied: civil society itself is to be new-modelled. Where is the power, where the perseverance, where the virtue, to undertake that task? to prosecute with vigour and discharge the duty with fidelity? Are we to await in pious expectation, that the country may be regenerated by the play of factions, where factions are proverbially corrupt? or retrieved by the energetic virtue of some chief governor, whilst notoriously the most feeble thing

on earth, against local cabals, is the government of Ireland? How many of these cabals would start up to obstruct a project, by the success of which nearly all of them would be offended? No; let the cabals be first put out of the way, and then the stupendous labour of improvement may be attempted. When the borough interest shall be reduced and fixed in England, its bearings and relations will be altered materially as to the empire, but almost totally as to Ireland. It will no longer feel the necessity of leaning for support on party spirit; and if any persons still retain a hankering for that state expedient, the Crown, relieved from its actual state of dependance, would be fully competent to controul them. I smile to hear people tell, what prodigies were to be effected by particular administrations: we should have a Vice-roy in each parish to carry into effect any extensive scheme of benevolence. General benefit and impartial kindness to all the people is a state of constraint under our present arrangement. A Chief Governor may extend the practice, just so far as his eye and his activity can reach and for just so long a term as the duration of his authority. Let his vigilance relax for an hour, or let a successor come, with different views or inferior energy—chaos returns again; every thing relapses to suspicion and severity. Lord Cornwallis brought with him to the government of Ireland greater personal advantages, than perhaps any nobleman possessed, since the Duke of Ormond filled that situation. What obstructions has he encountered? How comparatively little has he been able to effect? How unavailing will all his efforts prove, if retiring from the

the helm, he shall leave the system as he found it? What were the virtues of Trajan to the Roman world? They passed, without consequence or impression, beyond the day on which they were displayed: As the beam that shoots across a dull horizon, for an instant it seems to clear, and the general gloom envelopes it.

Arguing politically, I know nothing of implicit confidence. I propose to trust to the Crown, because the interests of the Prince concur so exactly with those of the people; and, as little inclined to general suspicion, I inculcate diffidence of the native powers in that point only, where I see them repelled from the general good by the law, the omnipotent law of self-aggrandizement, and merely to the extent of that repulsion. Does my credulous faith embrace the honor of Britain? It does precisely, under the guidance of the same rule, and to the same latitude. The British Government is conducted upon principles which forbid me to suppose, that it would be unjust gratuitously, and to its own detriment. There do I fix my mind, where I see positive regulation, supported by obvious interest. Our empire depends for its existence in the European system, on the resources of its subjects. Compared with the powers to whom it is opposed, its population is small, its range of territory diminutive. As she is obliged to adopt a naval method of defence, England could not, if she were inclined, act in that spirit of summary despotism, which we see practised on the Continent. Constraint may collect an army; plunder may subsist and clothe it:

a fleet

a fleet must be equipped by money; and that revenue, which is indispensable to a maritime state, can only be drawn from a people in opulence. Now if the subjects of Ireland were rich, and that a wayward Parliament dealt out the public treasure with a parsimonious hand, I might suppose the Minister was anxious to be relieved from the restriction. When I find, that a poor state is taxed profusely; taxed to the full amount of what is at any time demanded, I must endeavour to assign a motive more intelligible. Administration hopes to make Ireland contribute to the general exigence. Granted; but does it therefore mean to wring from poverty by means of a new constitution, what it may have at discretion under the agency of the old? or does it rather undertake the severe task of bringing this new order to perfection, that it may create by a more kind management the ability to afford assistance? it proposes to diffuse content, to protect the productive classes, to govern us, an experiment which has not yet been tried, in some conformity with the genius of the nation. Truly if the officers of the Crown have any other object in view, they give themselves much unnecessary trouble. If they entertain designs of a less gracious kind, they pursue their end by the most improbable and unprofitable of all expedients. I have somewhere read of a giant who was choaked by a six-penny loaf after he had breakfasted upon wind-mills. Have all the old contrivances for government in Ireland failed? Is the hand paralyzed that dispenses patronage? Has influence become innoxious? To

To be plain and serious, what is that unfavourable measure of regulation for Irish people or Irish pretensions, which might not be carried into effect without this concussion and this removal, and effected too by means, infinitely less troublesome and invidious? But, say they, the Minister projects to render this island a military depot for the Empire. Then indeed, he is a simpleton, who refuses to leave us this constitution, which requires forty thousand auxiliaries to preserve its equilibrium. I should think that he deprives himself of a very competent excuse for martial preparations.

All their resources of authority are perfect, it is alone the public mind, which the Ministers have at present occasion to cultivate; or from which they have any thing to apprehend in Ireland; and after an Union, the public mind will just act as powerfully as before; and it may as well communicate its impressions to the imperial, as to the local legislature; for the representation will not in either be very accurate or minute, or much more than virtual. What, after all her exertions to produce a change of government, of which this country stands in need, Great Britain is at once to cast the advantage from her, and play the tyrant to her own detriment! She is to go to Russia and the Morea to look for troops, and will not attach to her a warlike people, her closest neighbour! She will suffer this land in every war to be the advanced post of the enemy! Such terrors are for the nursery, and more simple than children are those who will indulge in them. I confess if, like the persons

who

who affect to entertain these apprehensions, I could bring myself to think, that the English government was not to be induced, even by its interest, even by the urgent necessity of self-preservation, to deal honestly by this kingdom. I should much hesitate to doom a man to death who turned his thoughts to separation. Good gentlemen, how do you support the Crown, when you lay down, that the state, over which his Majesty presides, is the most incorrigible of all enemies to this people?

If between government and the subject there is to be no amnesty—no oblivion of erroneous policy; not a power on earth can so correct its rule of conduct, as to create satisfaction in the people. Relations commercial and political are at this day better understood, than they were in the middle of the present century. The science of society is still in progress; and are we to fix our eyes upon the retrospect, and pine over exploded faults? and are we to imagine that in the great change of maxims that has taken place, one course of impolitic proceedings will alone be preserved, although this system of conduct has been renounced, has been discarded as injudicious, and atoned for as offensive; abjured by statesmen, and censured by authorities; and all this thro' the mere love of doing evil; for the apology for putting any restraint upon this country, the only one indeed, ever offered, that Ireland was not pledged to all the burdens of the empire, is at an end, when the two countries shall be formed by an incorporating Union into one government. will it do so I would suppose

Suppose our domestic government were to be subjected to the same jealous test, and to the same rigid scrutiny, has it so exercised its functions, as to be entitled to the confidence, which, on the ground of England's delinquencies, we are advised to withhold from the Imperial Legislature? Has such been the blameless tenor of its political existence, that we are to throw ourselves with implicit reliance on its discretion? If false policy be inexpiable, where is the shade of the Popery Laws to repose? The Parliament of England abridged our foreign trade; a series of English writers * exposed the error of the practice, and it was abolished. The Parliament of Ireland submitted to the inconvenience, and filled up the system, where it was incomplete; but it also interdicted the people from the cultivation of the land, and from civil liberty. We might have lived without foreign trade; but what is a nation without arts, or manners, or improvement? A law was in force in this kingdom, to a date as recent as the British restrictions upon our commerce, which authorised any man to fix at five pounds the value of a Papist's horse, or to levy upon that description of the people the amount of depredations committed upon the coast by an enemy. Now I rely upon the manners of the age, that these laws will not be again imposed. I rely upon the same manners, and upon an improved sense of public interest, that the Catholics will not again be rendered incapable of holding landed property, even although no more than twenty years have elapsed, since, in this respect, the statute law has been cor-

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* Child, Decker, Postlewaite, Tucker, Smith and Young.

rected in their favour. Shall we not at least expect the manners of the age, to be as accurately followed, and a judicious sense of public interest to be consulted by an Imperial Legislature, as by this domestic Parliament, which does not touch the people very closely either by delegation or property ? It is morally certain, that the British* government must, for its own sake, conduct this nation with a view to its improvement ; and equally certain, that passions must eternally arise, which will prevent the high Protestant ascendancy from becoming a mild dominion. I conceive that the controversy between the Minister, and a certain party, deep in the opposition to this measure, might be reduced to a dialogue of this tenor. " Sir, we will undertake to preserve Ireland to the Crown ; but you must give up the country to our mode of management." " No, gentlemen,

* No circumstance has contributed in a greater degree to render the Union popular in some parts of Ireland, than the temper displayed by the gentlemen who came over, in the beginning of the disturbances, as officers of the guards and militia regiments. It was not the least of the good consequences resulting from that generous and fortunate accession of military strength, that loose suspicion ceased to be followed by the punishment of atrocious guilt ; and the religious description, under which a man was classed, to be received as presumptive evidence of his criminality. Those who are acquainted with the style of conversation that prevailed during the last summer, will readily agree, that Ireland was saved from itself by the British reinforcement. The party would have chosen in preference, to arm their own adherents, who were certainly very adequate to suppress the rebellion, but whose means and projects for restoring peace were no less pernicious, than the disorders they were opposed to.

" gentlemen, I do not approve of your project ;
 " it is a bad system, which has been pursued too
 " long, and we are weary of it. I know
 " Ireland may be kept by a government of
 " terror ; but a resourceless subjection will
 " not answer the exigencies of the times. I
 " must not only hold Ireland, but make it a pro-
 " fitable member of the empire. I will endeavour to
 " reclaim the people. The Duke of Cumber-
 " land reduced Scotland ; but a judicious ma-
 " nagement, and clemency secured it. I will
 " make the law apply with equal vigour and
 " vigilance to all classes of the Irish nation. I
 " hold you gentlemen by your properties ; I will
 " gain the affection of the lower people."—

This language sounds strangely in the ears of persons who cannot imagine any resource of imperial government, except sticking Ireland by a party to Great-Britain. They exclaim that the connection of the country is in danger ; they made the same exclamation, on the different steps to the abolition of the popery laws, and each outcry may be explained by the other. The narrow provincial or garrison policy, to which their minds had been formed, was certainly put to hazard. But the members of the cabinet, not having imbibed their politics in College-green, happened to entertain a more rational and comprehensive scheme both of government and connection.

The law of the land does not bear heavily on the Irish people.* They are oppressed by the practical discipline

* I have omitted a head which is very material, but which has been already very sensibly discussed. The difference of interest between the government and the people, running in adverse current, and only to be reconciled by an Union.

discipline between rich and poor, and by grievances arising from the local management of counties and districts. Then, preserve the law, and take effectual measures to compel a change of practice. The mild application of authority may in the case of a very unthinking people, be expected to precede, it certainly cannot fail to produce, a benignant temper.

Let the influence of private men be diminished. Accommodate, in some degree to the temper of the people, the manner of forming a fund for the maintenance of the Church, and place that income under the safeguard of the laws of property. The weight of landed interest gives to the body of Protestants an immense preponderance ; but it is such, as cannot admit of a reasonable exception. It secures every object they hold dear ; it ought to suffice ; it does satisfy the most valuable and intelligent members of that communion. A preponderance, founded on party pretensions alone the good will decline, and the wise will reprobate ; let it be legally suppressed, and practically discountenanced, and give Great-Britain an interest to guarantee the settlement. Such is the scheme of pacification, which the state of the country seems to demand, and which promises to be durable. Such I humbly offer as the Euthanasia of our short-lived, but boisterous, and ill-omened independence.

LEGAL ARGUMENTS,

OCCASIONED BY THE PROJECT OF

AN UNION

BETWEEN

GREAT-BRITAIN and IRELAND,

ON THE EXCLUSION OF THE

ROMAN CATHOLIC NOBILITY AND GENTRY
IN BOTH KINGDOMS,

FROM

Parliament.

BY A MEMBER OF THE HONOURABLE SOCIETY OF
LINCOLN'S INN.

Sine ira et studio, quorum causas procul habeo.

Tacitus.

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LEGAL ARGUMENTS.

THE project of an Union between Great-Britain and Ireland, has already excited considerable discussion. It is not meant in the following pages to offer any observations relative to the propriety of a measure on which the most able and enlightened men are divided in opinion. The expediency of an Union is only a *preliminary* consideration: many great questions respecting the execution of the project remain to be determined. Before a work so grand and so difficult as the uniting of two Kingdoms so peculiarly circumstanced can be completely effected, it will be necessary to review, to modify, perhaps to repeal, several particular laws in both countries. This task must obviously appear from many circumstances to be indispensable, and if it be negligently performed, the Union may create evils more destructive than the disorders sought to be remedied.

It has been suggested, that further relief may possibly be granted to Roman Catholics. The most severe disability under which they still labour is that, by which they are excluded from Parliament.

The object of the following arguments is to prove, that whether the project of the Union be accomplished or abandoned, the Roman Catholic Nobility and Gentry in either case ought, agreeably to the *principle of existing laws, and of the Constitution of the Government, as by law established*, to be restored in both Kingdoms to the right of sitting and voting in Parliament.

It certainly cannot be necessary to apologize for entering upon the discussion of a subject, which has been started in the very first pamphlet written on the projected Union. It may not however be improper to premise, that it is not sought in the following publication to deceive by specious misrepresentation, but to convince by cold dispassionate reasoning, and by *legal* argument, submitted, not to implacable animosity and virulent prejudice, but to calm reflection and to considerate judgment.

It will be regular to begin by considering the case of the Roman Catholic Nobility and Gentry of England. They were excluded from Parliament earlier than in Ireland, and the disability was extended to that Kingdom by a subsequent statute enacted in England. If it should appear that the Roman Catholics of England have a founded claim upon the indulgence of the British Legislature, many difficulties in repealing the disability in Ireland may be obviated, and perhaps, the grand work of general unanimity, so devoutly to be wished in that distracted country, more easily and effectually accomplished.

ENGLAND.

It is very generally imagined by persons not conversant with legal enquiries, that the Roman Catholic Nobility and Gentry of England, are disabled from sitting and voting in Parliament, by laws affecting not *them alone*, but all who are denominated in law Protestant Dissenters. The contrary is the truth: to Methodists, Presbyterians, Arians, Socinians, to all persons differing from the Established Church, to Englishmen of every religious persuasion, *except to Roman Catholics*, Parliament is open. The Roman Catholics alone are excluded, by the operation of an act passed in the 30th of Charles the Second, st. 2. c. 1. entitled, “*An Act for the more effectual preserving the King’s Person and Government, by disabling Papists from sitting in either House of Parliament.*”

By this act all Roman Catholic Peers (many of whose ancestors obtained their titles as the reward of illustrious actions, which adorn the annals of Great-Britain, and constitute the pride and glory of every Englishman), are restrained from exercising the most honourable privilege of Peerage: by this act also, the Roman Catholic Gentry, consisting of several ancient and distinguished families, are debarred from the birth-right of every English Gentleman of property, the right of representing when elected, *Counties, Cities, and Boroughs* in Parliament. These Rights the Roman Catholics had enjoyed while groaning under most severe persecution: by this act, passed *expressly*, and *solely* against *them*, they were deprived of what till then, the most sanguinary* statutes had spared, respected, and held sacred.

The

* By 27th Elizabeth, c. 2, s. 4, knowingly to receive, relieve, comfort, aid or maintain, any priest or ecclesiastic of the Church

The Roman Catholics refer to the oppressive and degrading laws, enacted against them in former reigns, with no other view than to display the moderation and humanity, which so eminently distinguish the benign reign of his present Majesty: the recollection of what their ancestors may have suffered, contrasted with the blessings and protection enjoyed by themselves under such happy auspices, can tend only to increase their attachment to a good and gracious King, who, with the advice and consent of an enlightened Parliament, has relieved them from religious persecution, and from *some* of the most grievous disabilities imposed *peculiarly on them*.

The disability of fitting and voting in Parliament still exists; *it is not created by what are called the Test and Corporation Acts*—it is wholly unconnected with them, and extends to *Roman Catholics* alone*.

All modern Protestant writers on the laws of England, are obliged to acknowledge, that the peculiar severity of the law towards persons professing, what was formerly denominated in law the Popish religion †, could be justified only by the evil political tendency of the religious principles, imputed to persons of that persuasion.

The

Church of Rome, being at liberty or out of hold, was no less a crime than felony without benefit of Clergy: and the punishment of death, with loss and forfeiture, as in cases of persons attainted of felony.

* The Test Act, which is the 25th Charles the Second, c. 2. relates to offices and employments, and not to fitting and voting in Parliament. The Corporation Act is the 15th Charles the Second, s. 2, c. 1. and relates to Corporations: both these acts require as qualification, not only that certain oaths be taken, but also that the Sacrament be received in a Protestant Church. It must be observed, that Peers and Members of Parliament are not obliged to take the Sacrament, or declare themselves in any manner Protestants.

† The Popish Religion is now unknown to our law, per Lord Kehyon, Peake's N. P. 79.

The Legislature itself has made a similar admission: the preamble to the 31st George the Third, c. 32, (the last act passed in favour of the Roman Catholics), states, " That certain principles have been imputed to them, which are dangerous to society and to civil liberty, and which they are willing to disclaim; " and " that upon their taking the oaths of allegiance and abjuration, and signing the declaration therein mentioned, it is expedient they should be relieved from some of the penalties and disabilities imposed upon them."

The Legislature has therefore rescued those who comply with the test contained in this statute, from the imputation of entertaining *any* principles dangerous to society, and to civil liberty.—It necessarily then must follow, that the Roman Catholics have a just claim founded on the *principle* of the late act, to be freed not only from *some*, but from all disabilities inflicted *solely upon them*, extending to no other religious persuasion, and owing both their existence and their continuance only to the imputation of principles, which they have disavowed to the *satisfaction of the Legislature*, by the most awful appeal and asseveration that man can make.

The statute of the 50th Charles the Second, as it was aimed *solely* against Papists *, could proceed from no other motives than those which occasioned the enacting of other laws, affecting none *but them*—laws now repealed and forgotten. The Roman Catholics have disclaimed and abjured most expiessly and most solemnly, in the terms prescribed by the Legislature, every dangerous principle formerly, though falsely imputed to them. No possible reason can therefore be found to exist, why a partial law

* It is hoped this opprobrious appellation is now obsolete in the English language.

law disabling *them alone*, and no other description of persons differing from the Established Church, depriving them of what is enjoyed by all Dissenters, should not be wholly effaced from the statute Book. No founded objection can be made against restoring the Roman Catholic Nobility and Gentry to the glorious privileges conferred by the laws of the state on birth, rank, and property. Of this privilege they were deprived under circumstances peculiar to very tempestuous times ; under imputations declared by the Legislature to be now destitute of foundation ; imputations which candour, truth, and justice forbid to be at the present day ever again suggested.

By the 30th Charles the Second, all Peers and Members, before they sit or vote in either House of Parliament, are obliged to take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and to subscribe and repeat a declaration contained in that act.

These oaths in their present form are as follow :

“ I, A. B. do sincerely promise and swear, that
“ I will be faithful, and bear true allegiance to his
“ Majesty King GEORGE the Third.

“ So help me GOD.”

“ I, A. B. do swear, that I do from my heart ab-
“ hor, detest, and abjure, as impious, and heretical,
“ that damnable doctrine and position, that Princes
“ excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, or any
“ authority of the See of Rome, may be deposed or
“ murdered by their subjects, or any other whatsoever.

“ And I do declare that no foreign Prince, Per-
“ son, Prelate, State, or Potentate hath, or ought
“ to have, any power, jurisdiction, superiority, pre-
“ eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual,
“ within this realm.

“ So help me GOD.”

These oaths affect no description of Englishmen, except Roman Catholics. To the Oath of Allegiance, and to the first part of the Oath of Supremacy

macy, they have no objection whatsoever; nor could they object to the remainder of this oath, were the words "*civil or temporal*," substituted for *ecclesiastical or spiritual*. The latter epithets also would be unobjectionable, were they qualified or explained, so as to contain an abjuration only of such ecclesiastical or spiritual authority, as can interfere with the allegiance, due by the subjects of this realm to his Majesty's person and Government.

As all Roman Catholics hold the Pope to be the head of the Catholic Church, they cannot swear *in general unqualified terms*, without violation of conscience, or at least without equivocation, that no foreign prelate has *any spiritual authority* within this realm.

But as they have disclaimed *all temporal and civil jurisdiction* in the Pope as to this realm; as they have abjured all *ecclesiastical or spiritual authority whatever*, that can dispense with the moral and social obligations of man towards man; that can absolve the tie of allegiance, or counteract the duties of subjects to their Sovereign and to the state; they have clearly taken as strong a test as is contained in the Oath of Supremacy; a test, which has given the State adequate and complete security, that the Roman Catholics hold no tenets or principles subversive of society, dangerous to liberty, or injurious to his Majesty's person and government.

To corroborate this statement, it may not be improper to refer the reader to the oaths taken by the Roman Catholics of England. The first is appointed by the 18th George the Third, c. 60; and the second by the 31st George the Third, c. 32. The first oath is as follows:

"I, A. B. do sincerely promise and swear, that I
 "will be faithful, and bear true allegiance to his
 "Majesty King GEORGE the Third, and him will
 "defend to the utmost of my power against all
 "conspiracies

“ conspiracies and attempts whatever that shall
 “ be made against his person, crown, or dignity,
 “ and I will do my utmost endeavour to disclose
 “ and make known to his Majesty, his heirs, and
 “ successors, all treasons and traitorous conspi-
 “ racies which may be formed against him or
 “ them:

“ And I do faithfully promise to maintain, sup-
 “ port, and defend to the utmost of my power,
 “ the succession of the Crown in his Majesty’s fa-
 “ mily, against any person or persons whatsoever;
 “ hereby utterly renouncing and abjuring any
 “ obedience or allegiance unto the person taking
 “ upon himself the style and title of Prince of
 “ Wales, in the lifetime of his father, and who,
 “ since his death, is said to have assumed the style
 “ and title of King of Great-Britain, by the name
 “ of Charles the Third, and to any other person
 “ claiming or pretending a right to the Crown of
 “ these realms:

“ And I do swear, that I do reject and detest
 “ as an unchristian and impious position, that it
 “ is lawful to murder or destroy any person or
 “ persons whatsoever, for or under pretence of
 “ their being heretics, and also that unchristian
 “ and impious principle, that no faith is to be kept
 “ with heretics.

“ I further declare, that it is no article of my
 “ faith, and that I do renounce, reject, and ab-
 “ jure the opinion, that Princes excommunicated
 “ by the Pope and Council, or by any authority
 “ of the See of Rome, or by any authority what-
 “ soever, may be deposed or murdered by their
 “ subjects, or any person whatsoever.

“ And I do declare, that I do not believe that
 “ the Pope of Rome or any other foreign Prince,
 “ Prelate, State, or Potentate hath, or ought to have
 “ any temporal or civil jurisdiction, power superi-
 “ ority,

“ ority, or pre-eminence, directly or indirectly,
“ within this realm.

“ And I do solemnly, in the presence of God,
“ profess, testify, and declare, that I do make this
“ declaration, and every part thereof in the plain
“ and ordinary sense of the words of this oath,
“ without any evasion, equivocation, or mental re-
“ servation whatever, and without any dispensa-
“ tion already granted by the Pope, or by any au-
“ thority of the See of Rome, or any person
“ whatever, and without thinking that I am or can
“ be acquitted before God or man, or absolved of
“ this declaration, or any part thereof, although
“ the Pope, or any other persons or authority
“ whatsoever, shall dispense with or annul the same
“ or declare that it was null or void.”

The oath appointed to be taken under the 31st George the Third, differs from the oath of the 18th of his present Majesty, only in the following clause substituted for the clause relating to the succession of the Crown.

“ And I do faithfully promise to maintain, support,
“ and defend to the utmost of my power, the
“ succession to the Crown, which succession
“ by an Act, entitled, *An Act for the further li-
“ mitation of the Crown, and better securing the
“ rights and liberties of the subject*, is, and stands
“ limited to the Princess Sophia, Electress and
“ Duchess Dowager of Hanover, and the heirs
“ of her body being Protestants, hereby utterly
“ renouncing and abjuring any obedience or al-
“ legiance unto any other person, claiming or
“ pretending a right to the Crown of those
“ realms *.”

These oaths are so strong, so precise, and so unequivocal, they so positively abjure all civil and temporal authority in the Pope within this realm; and

* In other respects, both oaths are almost precisely the same.

also all spiritual authority which can interfere with political duty, or be dangerous in any manner to the Government of this country—that it is impossible to point out in what respect they *essentially* differ from the oath of supremacy.

What is called the oath of supremacy, is, as it regards *spiritual authority*, wholly *negative*, and in no manner *affirmative*—it requires no acknowledgment that spiritual authority *relides* in *any particular person*, or that it even exists: it obliges no person to declare himself a member of the Church of England, or to express his belief in any one of her tenets. Why then, since the Roman Catholics have given as strong a test of their allegiance, should not this oath be either entirely abrogated or modified, so as to be no longer a destructive snare to innocent conscience?

The 30th of Charles the Second, is, as before observed, wholly unconnected with the *Test Act*—with the *Corporation Act*—with all other Acts imposing tests—it is no fundamental law of the state—it is not *general*, either in its principle or in its effects—but in its object, as well as in its operation wholly partial. The repeal of this statute, or the modification of the oaths would be *no innovation*—would interfere with *no general principle* of Government—would involve *no general question* relative to the propriety of tests—would in *no manner* break in upon the *general system* of *Test Acts*—would disturb *no test* affecting the Dissenters, as well as the Roman Catholics—would introduce *no new principle* from which *any consequences* could ensue—it would be merely substituting in the case of Roman Catholics *the only persons aggrieved*—a test *equally satisfactory*—equally *secure*—and the repeal of this act, is in itself, the *just and necessary consequence* of a *principle* already established—already acted upon by the Legislature.

Various

Various parts of this statute have been *already* repealed, and there is a *precedent* of an alteration with respect to the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, upon the face of the Statute Book.

The Oath of allegiance appointed to be taken by the 30th Charles the Second, was the Oath contained in the 3d of James the First, c. 4, and was as follows:

“ I, A. B. do truly and sincerely acknowledge,
 “ profess, testify, and declare in my conscience,
 “ before God and the world, that our Sovereign Lord King is lawful and rightful
 “ King of this realm, and of all other his Majesty’s dominions and countries; and that the
 “ Pope neither of himself, nor by any authority
 “ of the Church or See of Rome; or by any
 “ other means with any other, hath any power
 “ or authority to depose the King, or to dispose
 “ of any of his Majesty’s kingdoms or dominions,
 “ or to authorize any foreign Prince to invade
 “ or annoy him or his countries; or to discharge
 “ any of his subjects of their allegiance and obedience to his Majesty, or to give licence or leave to
 “ any of them to bear arms, raise tumults, or
 “ to offer any violence or hurt to his Majesty’s
 “ royal Person, state or Government, or to any
 “ of his Majesty’s subjects within his Majesty’s dominions.

“ Also, I do swear from my heart, that, notwithstanding any declaration or sentence of excommunication or deprivation made or granted or to be made or granted by the Pope or his successors, or by any authority derived or pretended to be derived from him or his See, against the said King, his heirs or successors, or any absolution of the said subjects from their obedience, I will bear faith and true allegiance to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, and him and them will defend to the utmost of my power against

" against all conspiracies and attempts whatsoever,
 " which shall be made against his or
 " their persons, their Crown and dignity, by
 " reason or colour of any such sentence or
 " declaration or otherwise: and will do my
 " best endeavour to disclose, and make known
 " to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, all treasons
 " and traitorous conspiracies which I shall know
 " or hear of, to be against him or any of them.
 " And I do further swear, that I do from my heart
 " abhor, detest, and abjure, as impious and he-
 " retical, this damnable doctrine and position
 " that Princes which be excommunicated or de-
 " prived by the Pope, may be deposed or murder-
 " ed by their subjects, or any other whatsoever.
 " And I do believe, and in my conscience am re-
 " solved, that neither the Pope nor any other
 " person whatsoever, hath power to absolve me
 " of this oath or any part thereof, which I ac-
 " knowledge by good and lawful authority, to be
 " lawfully ministred unto me, and to renounce
 " all pardons and dispensations to the contrary.
 " And these things I do plainly acknowledge, and
 " sincerely swear according to these express words
 " by me spoken, and according to the plain and
 " common sense and understanding of the same
 " words, without any equivocation or mental
 " evasion, or secret reservation whatsoever. And
 " I do make this recognition and acknowledg-
 " ment heartily, willingly, and truly, upon the
 " true faith of a Christian.

Note.—The Roman Catholics could not scruple to
 take this oath were it revived.

The Oath of Supremacy was created by the 1st
 Elizabeth, c. 1, s. 19.

" I, A. B. do utterly testify and declare in my
 " conscience, that the Queen's Highness is the
 " only supreme Governor of this realm; and of
 " all other her Highness's dominions and coun-
 " tries,

tries, as well as in all *spiritual* things or causes as temporal, and that no foreign Prince, Person, Prelate, State, or Potentate, hath or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm; and therefore, I do utterly renounce and forsake all foreign jurisdiction, powers, superiorities, and authorities: and do pronounce, that from henceforth I shall bear faith and true allegiance to the Queen's Highness, her heirs and lawful successors, and to the best of my power shall assist and defend all jurisdictions, pre-eminentces, privileges and authorities granted, or belonging to the Queen's Highness, her heirs and successors, or united and annexed to the Imperial Crown of this realm. So help me God, and by the contents of this Book."

To this oath not only the Roman Catholics, but several who scrupled to acknowledge Church Government and ecclesiastical authority objected, to remove the scruples of the latter; the *very first* act passed after the accession of William and Mary abrogated both these oaths, and substituted those which exist at present, and have been stated above. The same motives which induced the Legislature to make this alteration, apply as forcibly to the case of the Roman Catholics—they not only authorize, but evince the justice of extending to *them* that indulgence of conscience granted to all other persons dissenting from the Church of England.

It is presumed, that the justice and propriety of removing the disability inflicted *solely upon Roman Catholics* (as cannot be too often repeated) with respect to Parliament, either by a repeal of the statute itself, or by a modification of the Oaths, have been fully shewn. It must, therefore, necessarily follow, that the Declaration required to be subscribed and repeated, under the 30th Charles the Second, is become useless; this will appear obvious upon a review of its content, they are as follow:

"I, A. B. do solemnly and sincerely in the presence of God, profess, testify, and declare, that
 "I do believe, that in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, there is not any transubstantiation of
 "the elements of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, at or after the consecration thereof, by any person whatsoever; and that
 "the invocation or adoration of the Virgin Mary, or any other Saint, and the sacrifice of the Mass, as they are now used in the Church of Rome, are superstitious and idolatrous. And
 "I do solemnly in the presence of God profess, testify, and declare, that I do make this declaration, and every part thereof in the plain and ordinary sense of the words read unto me, as they are commonly understood by English Protestants, without any evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation whatsoever; and without any dispensation already granted me for this purpose by the Pope, or any authority or person whatsoever, or without any hope of such dispensation from any person or authority whatsoever, or without thinking that I am, or can be acquitted before God or man, or absolved of this declaration, although the Pope, or any other person or persons, or power whatsoever, should dispense with or annul the same, or declare it was null and void."* 103

This

* The Church of England teaches in her Catechism, "that the body and blood of Christ are *verily and indeed* taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper." The Roman Catholic Church teaches, that after consecration the body and blood of Christ, under the forms of bread and wine, are received substantially. The Church of England in consecrating bread and wine, retains the same words as are used by the Roman Catholic Church, in her consecration of the same elements:—this consecration is the essential part of the Mass—the rest of the Liturgy (called the Mass), consists of Psalms, Extracts from the Old and New Testament of Collects and other Prayers, (several

This declaration involves matter of religious controversy, not of political consideration—matter wholly *spiritual* and not *temporal*. It is not meant to enter upon controversial argument—such discussion would be irrelevant and improper. Which Church be in error, is a question foreign to the present subject. However important the points of Roman Catholic faith alluded to in this declaration may be

of which are retained in the Protestant Book of Common Prayer), giving thanks to the Lord for the institution of what the Protestant Church acknowledges to be the *Holy Sacrament, the Holy Mysteries of the body and blood of Christ*. The Church of England admits the Creed of the Apostles which teaches the *Communion of Saints*. The Roman Catholic Church understands by this article, that man holds Communion with the Saints in Heaven—that they pray to God for mankind, and that it is good and profitable to beg their assistance: indeed, if the prayers of the faithful on earth for each other be acceptable to the Almighty and profitable, if it be lawful for Christians to solicit the benefit of their mutual prayers on earth, the intercession of the faithful departed in sanctity, and enjoying the inheritance of eternal bliss, must be equally acceptable, equally available, and equally lawful; at the same time, the Roman Catholic Church most expressly forbids all superstitious invocation of the Saints. The Roman Catholics acknowledge no benefit to be derived from the invocation of the Saints, but by their intercession to God through Jesus Christ, *whom, and whom only*, the Church holds to be the Redeemer and Saviour of man. Such is the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church—such it is professed by every true Roman Catholic.—To shew that this statement is exact, that it has been candidly represented, without any colouring or disguise, it may perhaps be proper to refer to the Council of Trent. It will appear by the following quotation, that the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church is expressly declared with respect to the Invocation of Saints, to be as follows:—*Manda Sancta Synodus omnibus Episcopis & cæteris docendi munus curamque sustinentibus. ut juxta Catholicæ & Apostolicæ Ecclesiæ usum a primævis Christianæ religiosis temporibus receptum sanctorumque patrum consensionem & sacrorum conciliorum decreta fideles diligenter instruant docentes eos, sanctos una cum Christo regnantes, orationes suas pro hominibus Deo offerre, bonum atque utili esse suppliciter eos invocare; & ob beneficia impetranda a Deo per filium ejus Iesum Christum Dominum nostrum, qui solus noster Redemptor & Salvator est, ad eorum orationes, opem auxiliumque configere:—omnis porro superstitio in sanctorum invocatione tollatur.* Con. Trid. Sessio 25.

to conscience in their relation to the law of God, the cognizance of them can appertain to God alone: they cannot lead to any political consequences—they cannot interfere with the duties of subjects—they deny not the Trinity—they dispute not the authenticity of the scripture—they cannot shake the foundation of Christian Morality, or pervert its precepts—they cannot directly or indirectly affect the peace and order of society—they are therefore indifferent, as they concern the laws of man.

The whole faith of the Roman Catholic Church has lately undergone before the most exalted tribunal in England, a strict and scrupulous examination. The Roman Catholic religion, which declares Transubstantiation an article of faith, which admits the invocation of the Saints, as intercessors to God for man through Jesus Christ, (if practised without superstition), to be lawful and profitable, has been declared innocent as to society. It is in consequence tolerated *by law*—preached *by law* in the pulpit, and taught *by law* in schools and seminaries to youth: to believe and to profess her doctrine can no longer be criminal, according to the laws of the state. These particular points of faith cannot, therefore, in themselves, justify a partial exclusion of the Roman Catholics from Parliament.

To dispense with this declaration, the most rigid Protestant cannot object.* It contains an abjuration of no doctrine dangerous in itself, or in its consequences—it affords no political security: It could have been introduced with no other view than to exclude

* This declaration obliges Protestants to swear so *very positively* upon matter of opinion, and upon *their oaths* to pass such express and *severe* condemnation in doctrine intricate and mysterious, that the consciences of Noblemen and Gentlemen belonging to the Established Church would be relieved, in being no longer under the necessity of making upon *oath* so *serious* an accusation against their fellow-countrymen.

exclude with greater certainty the objects of severity in the 30th Charles the Second, an act operating a grievous and partial disability; an act continuing to stigmatize *in law*, those whom the *law itself* now declares free from imputation; an act which it has been proved, ought, according to every principle of justice and legislative consistency, to be either modified or repealed.

With respect, therefore, to the Roman Catholics of England, it has been proved, that the disability created by the 30th Charles the Second is partial, since it affects none but Roman Catholics: it has been proved that the *principle* on which it was enacted, is destroyed by the 31st George the Third. It has been proved by this statute, that the imputation formerly charged upon the Roman Catholics are void of truth; as to those who comply with the oath therein prescribed. It has been proved, that the oaths taken by the Roman Catholics are, in effect, adequate to the oaths established by the 1st W. and Mary, c. 1: It has been proved, that a total repeal of the 30th Charles the Second, or a modification of the oaths at present taken by Members of Parliament, would not by *innovation*, interfere with any general *principle*, or molest any *system* of laws. It has been proved, that no one tenet of the Roman Catholic religion can be incompatible with social order, can impede allegiance to his Majesty's Person and Government. It therefore obviously results, that the liberality, justice, and impartiality of English Jurisprudence, are called upon to remove all peculiar disability inflicted solely upon Roman Catholics, and to restore and allow the same privileges to them, as are enjoyed by all Dissenters from the Church of England.

IRELAND.

THAT the Roman Catholic Nobility and Gentry of England are justly entitled to be restored to the right of sitting and voting in Parliament, has been clearly proved. Their case depends upon its own strength; it requires no adventitious aid, and has been established without recurring to any arguments drawn from circumstances existing in the Sister Country.

In Ireland, as well as in England, penalties and disabilities have been imposed on Roman Catholics. Most of them have been repealed: they ought, for the honour of the country, to be expunged from the future editions of the Statute Book. At present, while they remain in print, (though without force, worn out and spent by the violence of their own exertions,) humanity and true religion must delight in comparing with the harshness and severity which throw a certain melancholy gloom over some of the most brilliant reigns recorded in British History, the mildness, and the superior wisdom every where conspicuous in the Legislative Acts of his present Majesty.

These penalties and disabilities, at the time of their first creation, affected in England a body of persons then numerous and considerable: in Ireland, they involved the whole country; they were in England severe and bloody; in Ireland, tyrannical and oppressive. Upon a review of several Statutes relating to Ireland, passed during the last and at the beginning of the present century, it appears hardly credible that they could have ever existed. To persons born in the present days it must seem impossible, that any regular Government could have enacted or enforced a system of laws such as were formerly known in Ireland, under the appellation of *Popery Laws*—laws framing a new religious faith for Ireland in England,

England—preaching a religious doctrine entirely new to the people in Ireland, not by pilgrims and missionaries, not by mildness and persuasion but by generals and armies, by pains and penalties,—laws converting into a crime, and punishing by degradation and loss of property, a pious adherence to that religion till then, ever since the Gospel was first known in that Island, the religion of Irishmen, believed and handed down to them by their ancestors—laws rewarding the basest and meanest apostacy with pensions and preferments, enjoining violation of conscience, stifling all moral and virtuous sensibility, and encouraging the breach of the most sacred vows to the Almighty—laws creating both public and private misery, sowing dissention in all families, embroiling children with parents, brother with brother, disturbing even the union of man and wife—laws, in short, dissolving every social tie, perverting human nature, seeking to extirpate all industry, all morality, all religion, (without which no state can enjoy happiness, or even existence); and effectually preventing all moral and political improvement whatever in the country.

Under such a system, Ireland was governed during a considerable period of time; and under such a system the kingdom naturally pined in ignorance, poverty and wretchedness—these laws were, but they are now no more. The present reign has created happier times. Under the auspices of a sovereign, whose compassion and paternal goodness extend to all classes of his subjects, it can never be forgotten, that modern administrations have nobly scorned to proceed upon the destructive and unjustifiable plans of those who preceeded them; modern parliaments also, parliaments which Jacobins, and their deluded ignorant abettors, so infamously endeavour to villify, modern parliaments have declared

“ That

— “ *That* it must tend not only to the cultivation and improvement of the Kingdom, but the prosperity and strength of all his Majesty’s dominions; that his subjects of all denomination, should enjoy the blessings of our free Constitution, and be bound to each other by mutual interest and affection:*” — that a continuance of the popery laws “ *is injurious to the real welfare and prosperity of Ireland.*” Modern Parliaments have surmounted all difficulties suggested by prejudice and persecuting bigotry: They have removed the most grievous disabilities; they have enabled the merchant to realize the earnings of his industry; and have thereby encouraged a commercial spirit, to which Ireland owes its great improvement; they have enabled the parent to educate his child; they have confirmed to the Roman Catholic gentleman the inheritance of his ancestors, which piety and conscience with difficulty preserved; that inheritance, possessed for years in fear and trembling; held perhaps, at the tender and indulgent mercy of an Apostate from the religion and virtues of his family, a convert, not to the Protestant Religion, but to profligacy, impiety, and atheism.

Modern Parliaments have no longer forced the generous, impatient of inactivity, and till lately, incapable of honourable employment in Ireland, to banish himself for ever from his country and friends, to seek a foreign home, and serve a foreign Prince; they have enabled him under certain restrictions, to bear arms in the service of his Sovereign; they have enabled the Roman Catholic Nobility and Gentry of Ireland to prove, in the command of the Regulars, the Militia, and of the yeomanry, their firm and immutable allegiance to his Majesty’s Person and Government. This relief has

been

* Vide 21st and 22d George the Third, c. 24, and 17th and 18th George the Third, c. 49.

been the work of modern Parliaments, and must impress the Roman Catholics with gratitude, as long as they consider dear to them their honour, their country, and their religion.

What affluence, what prosperity have sprung from these enlightened and salutary measures? With what hasty strides has Ireland advanced, not only to civilization, but even to refinement? To what an amazing extent her commerce has increased? How rapid has been the progress of her improvement in agriculture, in manufacture, in every art and science? These advantages can be attributed to no other cause, than to the wise system adopted since the commencement of the present reign. Unfortunately for Ireland, the bright prospect of felicity has been darkened by the horrors of rebellion: Heaven grant, that they may prove only a transitory gloom, and that the serene rays of comfort may shine once more on that afflicted country.

It cannot be surprising, that the growing prosperity of Ireland should have excited envy in the fiends of Jacobinism. The flames they have kindled in France, have laid waste the most civilized and polished kingdoms, have spread desolation over countries formerly the fixed abode of peace and content, have caused a general conflagration in Europe: No man, therefore, who has contemplated these melancholy events can be astonished, that in a country which former bloody and subversive laws (at length repealed) producing mutual jealousies and animosities, have stored with every political combustible, the subtle sparks of Jacobinism should have produced a tremendous explosion. It would have been strange, indeed, if Ireland had escaped contagion from the moral pestilence raging throughout the world with all-destroying fury, when even England, herself, the sanctuary of liberty and of order, is proved by the records of her own legislature, not to be immaculate from

from the pollution of Jacobinical profanation. The artifices and insidious attempts of Jacobinical Conspirators have, in England, happily proved ineffectual, not only because vigorous measures have been wisely adopted to prevent the progress of anarchical principles, but also because the interests of the governors and of the governed are inseparably united, and because excellence in the government produces excellence in its subjects.

It may not, perhaps, be improper to state, for the information of the English reader, the conduct of the Roman Catholics of Ireland during the late troubles. That the Roman Catholics were, as a body, innocent of the late horrible rebellion, is admitted by all parties: it can be proved also by conclusive evidence of the highest authority.

The history of the conspiracy planned and conducted by the society of United Irishmen, from its commencement to what it is to be hoped has proved its final destruction, the detail of its progress, and of the means pursued by the conspirators to delude the lower and ignorant classes in order to accomplish their horrible views, are to be found in the last Reports of the Secret Committees of the Lords and Commons of the Irish Parliament. This conspiracy is there proved to have been throughout purely Jacobinical, to have sought the extirpation of the *Roman Catholic* as well as of the *Protestant Religion*, the annihilation of the higher orders of *Catholics* as of *Protestants*, and the destruction of the Government, whether it admitted *Catholics* to a participation of its privileges, or confined them to *Protestants* alone. Thus it is represented, “*To have originated in a system, framed not with a view of obtaining either Catholic Emancipation, or any reform compatible with the existence of the Constitution**”; but to have perfectly coincided in its commencement and in its progress, its means

" means and its objects, with that by which the Government, the RELIGION, and the happiness of France have been destroyed :* Inculcating the principles, and adopting the means which were successfully employed to abolish the RELIGION, to extirpate the Nobility, and subvert the Monarchy of France :† Such a conspiracy, it is obvious, could never have been fo-mented by the body of Roman Catholics.

The conspirators themselves admit, that *Catholic Emancipation* (as it is called), was a mere pretence from the first establishment of the Irish Union; and that, if they had been enabled to succeed in their plan of Reform and Revolution it would have involved in it equally the destruction of the Protestant and Popish religion.‡ They do not appear to have considered the Catholics even as friends to their principles: their hopes of success in deluding the lower orders of the people, arose solely from the prospect of being able to excite discontents among the Irish peasantry, by reason of their miserable condition. In a paper prepared for the purpose of being sent to France by Dr. Jackson, proved on his trial, and annexed to the Report of the Commons, they state the population of Ireland to " be 4,500,000, consisting of about 450,000 PROTESTANTS, who have engrossed, besides the whole Church patronage, all the profits and honours of the country exclusively, and a very great share of the landed property:—900,000 DISSENTERS, the most enlightened body of the nation, || steady republicans, devoted to liberty, and through all the stages of the French Revolution, enthusiastically attached to it: 3,150,000 CATHOLICS, the great body of the people, the whole peasantry of Ireland, the most oppressed and wretched.

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* Report of the Commons.

† Report of the Lords.

‡ Idem.

|| No imputation is meant by this quotation on any religious persuasion whatever.

" wretched in Europe, ready for any change, because no change can make them worse."

In Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, the lower orders consist almost of Roman Catholics. In Ulster they are less numerous than in other parts of Ireland; the conspiracy was hatched and fostered in Ulster; the system of military organization was first determined upon in that province: " this organization by which the Directory of the Irish Union was enabled to levy a revolutionary army, was completed in the province of Ulster on the 10th of May, 1795. It made no considerable progress beyond the Northern Province before the autumn of 1796, when emissaries were sent into Leinster to propagate the system. It appeared distinctly to the committee of the house of Lords, that the stale pretexts of parliamentary reform and Catholic Emancipation, were found ineffectual for the seduction of the people of that province; and therefore the emissaries of treason who had undertaken it, in order to prevail with them to adopt the system of organization, first represented that it was necessary, in their own defence, as their Protestant fellow-subjects had entered into a solemn league and covenant to destroy them, having sworn to wade up to their knees in Popish blood."

The enemies of order and government are well aware, that religion is essential to the peace and welfare of every state: they have therefore, throughout Europe, commenced their attack upon society, by endeavouring to extirpate religion. Accordingly the leaders of the system, in order to adopt the minds of the multitude to the purposes of their treason, have after the example of their Jacobine allies in France, left no means unemployed which the most malignant subtlety could suggest, for eradicating from amongst the working classes every sentiment both of private and public duty, all quiet and peaceable habits, all social as well as moral obligations

it has been their object to destroy; and the more sacred the tie the more industriously have they laboured to dissolve it: they have incited the soldier to betray his King; they have armed the tenant against the landlord; and they have taught the servant to conspire with the assassin of his master, blasting the repose and confidence of private life, even in its sanctuary, and effacing every law of justice of gratitude and religion*. Where they found impiety could not succeed, they had recourse to religion, and endeavoured “to make even religion itself “ the perverted instrument of their execrable views.” Thus with a view to excite the resentment of the Catholics, and to turn that resentment to the purposes of the party, “ fabricated and false tests “ were represented as having been taken to exterminate “ Catholics, and were industriously disseminated by the “ emissaries of the treason throughout the Provinces of “ Leinster, Munster, and Connaught: reports were “ frequently circulated amongst the ignorant of the “ Catholic persuasion, that large bodies of men were “ coming to put them to death. This fabrication, “ however extravagant and absurd, was one among “ the many means by which the deluded peasantry were “ engaged the more rapidly in the treason.”—(Report of the commons).

These were the infernal means adopted by the conspirators to excite phrenzy in the people. It was by similar insinuations, by similar execrable fabrications, by sowing distrust, jealousy, and alarm amongst the lowest orders, that we have seen the anarchists of France revolutionize the most peaceable districts, pervert the obedience of troops so long renowned in Europe for their fidelity to their officers, and drive to sudden madness a nation so proud and jealous of its institutions, so peculiarly happy and contented. If we turn to Switzerland, and contemplate for a moment the means by

which its tranquillity, its independence, and its happiness have been destroyed, we must be sensibly struck with the analogy between the Jacobins of France and of Ireland. It must however be observed, for the honour of the lower orders of the people, and of the Catholic peasantry in Ireland, acknowledged by all parties to be so ignorant and wretched, and described to have been so ready for any change, because no change could make them worse; that, notwithstanding the multifarious attempts to seduce them from their allegiance, and consequently from their religion, they have proved themselves in most parts superior to temptation. The rebellion was confined to Leinster: it has been crushed in a great measure by the fidelity and brave exertions of the national troops, whose activity and loyal conduct have repeatedly received the highest commendation from the throne. It is needless to observe that the bulk of the Irish Militia consists of Roman Catholics.

To calm the ferment created by the emissaries of treason, to warn the unwary of the dangers to which they were exposed, to remind the people of their most *sacred* duties, came forth the **ROMAN CATHOLIC RELIGION**—that religion, whose *vital* principles are *peace, order, and respect to authority*—that religion, which, in the worst of times, had inculcated *forbearance and submission*, which had dictated that behaviour, acknowledged by the legislature to have been *uniformly peaceable* during a long series of years—that religion which, in the most violent storms of *persecution*, had preserved *uninterrupted tranquillity*. Accordingly, her venerable Bishops and Pastors, though vilified and insulted, though threatened even with their lives, (for as in France so in Ireland, the first step pursued by the conspirators was to create in the people distrust of their clergy and to excite indignation against them) nevertheless, undaunted

undaunted and fearless of every danger, used the most indefatigable endeavours among their flocks to confirm the strong, and to determine the wavering in their allegiance and religion—to undeceive the deluded, to reclaim the wandering. Their pious exhortations and remonstrances * are so affecting and pathetic, they breathe such a spirit of tenderness and solicitude, they are so mild and conciliating, and at the same time so energetic and persuasive, that they would not have disgraced the most eloquent Fathers of the Church. The unprejudiced of every religious persuasion must admit, that the pastoral remonstrances of the Roman Catholic Bishops have done honour to the religion from which they have proceeded; they prove that the ROMAN CATHOLIC RELIGION is a religion of *charity and gratitude*, a stranger to *malevolence, rancour and revenge*—that she inculcates *submission*, not from motives of *pusillanimity and terror*, but from the noble dictates of *Christian heroism*—that she is also the first to *defend the law*—that she considers *allegiance* to be a *sacred social duty*, and consequently an *indispensable inviolable precept*.

The distinguished conduct of the Roman Catholic Nobility and Gentry during the late Rebellion, can surely never be forgotten. In the critical moment of terror and distress, of general distrust and confusion, when each man looked to his neighbour with anxiety and fear, uncertain whether he discovered in him his friend or his assassin; when the government hardly knew on whom to rely for its defence, and whether it were surrounded by protectors or beset by conspirators; when all hesitated and trembled to avow their sentiments, the Roman Catholic Nobility and Gentry rushed forward with zeal to support

* See—The pastoral remonstrances of the Irish Roman Catholic Bishops.

port the tottering state. Their address to the Lord Lieutenant, their remonstrance to the lower orders, their declaration to stand or fall with the constitution of the government, at a time when they themselves were peculiarly exposed to the fury of frantic rebels raging at the gates of Dublin, will record their firmness, magnanimity, and loyalty in the annals of Ireland; their spirited exertions in the field, fighting for their Sovereign and for the constitution of the laws*, have proved them worthy of the relief they have obtained from odious and injurious disabilities.

Such has been the nature of the rebellion in Ireland: such has been the conduct of the Roman Catholic body of the lower orders, of the Clergy, of the Nobility and Gentry. The statement which has been given is not grounded on assertion, misrepresentation, or disingagement: nothing has been extenuated, nothing set down in malice. It has been proved by clear indisputable evidence, of the highest authority, to which the reader has been referred, that the body of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, have not only been innocent of the late horrible rebellion, but that they have also contributed in a very great degree, to the preservation of the laws and government of that kingdom.

It remains to be proved, that the Roman Catholic Nobility and Gentry ought to be admitted to the Parliament of Ireland. In Ireland as in England, the disability of sitting and voting in Parliament *affects not Dissenters*; it is imposed *solely upon* Roman Catholics. On what ground of reason or of justice can it be contended, that a disability so *severe* and

* Vide in the London Gazette, the Remonstrance of the Roman Catholic Nobility and Gentry, (in which the Clergy also joined), and the distinguished exertions of the Earl of Fingal at the Hill of Tarah, and of several Roman Catholic gentlemen in other parts.

and so *partial*, should continue to exist? It certainly cannot be any longer supported by any imputation upon the principles of the Roman Catholic religion.—Every imputation which ignorance or malice, at any time suggested has been answered, and completely refuted—every dangerous political principle attributed to Roman Catholics, has been solemnly abjured. The Roman Catholic religion has both in England and Ireland been tried and honourably acquitted.—The Legislature of England (it has been shewn), has cleared the Roman Catholics from the charge of entertaining any tenets dangerous or subversive. The Roman Catholic religion is, in that country, no longer persecuted, but tolerated and protected.—The statutes of recusancy have been repealed, and a Popish recusant formerly considered as an offender, *and on that account punished by penalties and disabilities*, is now unknown to the law. In Ireland, the Legislature has declared most publicly and unequivocally its perfect satisfaction, even its thorough conviction, that the Roman Catholic religion is innocent both in its moral and in its political effects. **THE LEGISLATURE OF IRELAND HAS MUNIFICENTLY ESTABLISHED AND ENDOWED, OUT OF THE FINANCES OF THE COUNTRY, A ROYAL COLLEGE, FOR THE EXPRESS PURPOSE OF EDUCATING ROMAN CATHOLIC CLERGY, IN ORDER THAT THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND MAY BE INSTRUCTED IN THE ROMAN CATHOLIC RELIGION.** What violator of public repose, what perturbator of society, what designing and *disguised* Jacobin, after this splendid manifestation of Roman Catholic innocence from the highest authority in the state, will have the folly and the wickedness to assert, in order to compass his dark nefarious designs, to glut his fanatic spleen by reviving past scenes of horror and bloodshed, to rekindle flames at length with

with difficulty quenched*, to disturb religious harmony so essentially necessary in a country, where the religion of the Government is not the general religion of its subjects? What miscreant will dare insinuate, that the tenets of the Roman Catholic religion are dangerous and subversive? Such an insinuation would be an execrable and treasonable libel on the Legislature and Government of Ireland. In vain would the ignorant wretch attempt to palliate his guilt, and pretend by such black and detestable calumny, to support Government and the Protestant religion. The government will consign him to the Attorney-General, to be prosecuted for sedition, in having endeavoured to disturb the peace of his Majesty's subjects, to vilify and depreciate the Parliament, to represent the government of Ireland as having betrayed its most sacred trust, and to have conspired against liberty and society.—The Protestant religion will disclaim such impious zealots, *she* must disdain the support of injective misrepresentation and calumny—they are the deadly poignards of *impiety*—Religion scorns the bowl and dagger, *she* can trust *her* cause only to charity and truth—these are *her* weapons, these *her* armour.

Let the most prejudiced, the most bigoted enemy of the Catholics examine the Roman Catholic religion

* The conflagration of the metropolis, the demolition of the prisons, the siege of the Bank and of the British Parliament, the threatening of Royalty in its very sanctuary, are scenes still present to the recollection, not only of individuals, but of *Government*. The confusion in the year 1780, created by an association impiously denominating itself the Protestant Association, is a subject worthy of consideration by rash and virulent declaimers. It is obvious to every Englishman, that the views of the faction who raised the outcry against Popery, extended infinitely beyond affecting merely a Repeal of the act passed in favor of Roman Catholics. At that time the Jacobin Conspiracy had not begun to work in the face of day—*impiety* had not yet thrown off the mask, but remained disguised in the garb of *religious zeal*.

ligion—let him point out a single tenet which can militate against the duty of subjects in any regular Government—he will find none. Religion and government are inseparable; they must ever co-exist—they must ever support each other—without religion there can exist no Government.—without Government, no religion. Religion, whose fundamental principles consist in the love and fear of God, and in the practice of social duty, must necessarily consider allegiance as a most sacred obligation—religion must ever inculcate obedience to Government, she can never preach subversion, she never can permit violation of order—she is ever essential to the peace and welfare of society—it is she alone who can bind, in a system of order and regularity, the incoherent, the extravagant passions and vices of man: without her salutary influence all laws are vain: that government also which would attempt to destroy religion, stabs its own vitals, and determines its own existence. The Roman Catholic religion, as well as every other religion which deserves that sacred name, must necessarily support regular Government in every country. The Roman Catholic Church is more closely connected than any other religious persuasion with the church of England. The difference between the Protestant and the Roman Catholic religion, is not great, even in points of religious faith—in morality and political duty they must ever coincide—avant then, all absurd and injurious aspersions, they ought to be banished even from the nursery, and no longer to be suffered there amongst ridiculous gossips to poison the suckling babe, to envenom his young blood with prejudice and animosity, and to create in his infant mind a horror of his innocent fellow-subjects, almost before he is taught the existence of a God.

To maintain, therefore, that the Roman Catholic religion is dangerous or subversive, would be absurd

and impious. The Roman Catholic religion is proved by the Legislature to be at least innoxious, and no descriptions of persons, except Roman Catholics, are excluded from Parliament on account of their religious opinions: it therefore necessarily follows by every rule of logic and common sense, that the Roman Catholic nobility and gentry of Ireland are justly entitled to be restored to their seats in Parliament. This reasoning, it is presumed, cannot be controverted—the *propriety* of repealing the laws excluding the Roman Catholics from the Parliament of Ireland, can be no longer a question.

It is obvious, that in England, the partial disability, under which the Roman Catholic nobility and gentry are so seriously aggrieved, may be removed without introducing any *innovation*, without destroying any established *principle*, without involving any *general question*, without violating any *fundamental law*. In Ireland, a similar measure is equally practicable.

Miserable, indeed, would be that Government, (if such it could be called), which in a case of clear indisputable justice, could grant no relief. Horrible also would be that system of law, which could bind the state in the imperious necessity of operating for ever severe and partial injury—such are neither the Government nor the laws of Ireland.

The Roman Catholic nobility and gentry of Ireland were excluded from Parliament, by the 3d William and Mary, c. 2. an act to which the advice and consent of the Lords and Commons of Ireland were wanting: an act passed by the Parliament of England, to settle the internal regulation of the Parliament of Ireland, to expel the most powerful peers, the most distinguished families, possessed of the greatest property, and the most extensive influence in that kingdom, from their seats

in the Legislature of their own country, and condemning them as traitors and rebels unheard, and without trial. To this act, the independent Legislature of Ireland can have no particular affection—it is an act of foreign growth, not the natural production of the country.

It has been shewn, that in England, the oaths required to be taken by Peers and Members of Parliament, may be modified, without weakening the security afforded by the existing test. The same oaths are appointed to be taken by peers and Members in Ireland, under the 3d William and Mary.

The Irish Roman Catholics have abjured every pernicious doctrine formerly imputed to the Roman Catholics of England. They have moreover sworn, that no *act in itself unjust, immoral, or wicked, can ever be justified or excused by, or under pretence or colour that it was done either for the good of the Church, or in obedience to any Ecclesiastical power whatsoever**. That it is not an article of the Catholic faith, nor are they thereby required to believe or profess that the Pope is infallible, or that they are bound to obey any order in its own nature immoral, though the Pope or any Ecclesiastical power should issue or direct such order; but on the contrary, that they would hold it sinful to pay any respect or obedience thereto†. They have further sworn, that they believe no sin whatsoever committed by them, can be forgiven at the mere will of any Pope or any Priest, or of any person or persons whatsoever; but that sincere sorrow for past sins, and a firm and sincere resolution to avoid future guilt, and to atone to God, are previous and indispensable requisites to establish a well founded expectation of forgiveness; and that any person who receives absolution without these previous requisites,

* 33d. George the III. c. 21.

† Idem.

so far from obtaining thereby any remission of his sins, incurs the additional guilt of violating a sacrament*. They have sworn TO DEFEND TO THE UTMOST OF THEIR POWER THEIR SETTLEMENT AND ARRANGEMENT OF PROPERTY IN THAT COUNTRY, AS ESTABLISHED BY THE LAWS NOW IN BEING†. Let any one open the Statute-Book of Ireland—let him read, and let him scrutinize the oaths taken by the Roman Catholics : he must admit, that they contain as positive and secure a test as that which exists at present, as far as respects sitting, and voting in Parliament. They contain the most solemn abjuration of all temporal and civil jurisdiction in the Pope within these realms, of all ecclesiastical or spiritual authority whatever, that can in any manner interfere with their allegiance. Can reason expect, or can words create a greater political security? Is the existing parliamentary Test as strong and as precise as that taken by the Roman Catholics of Ireland to qualify themselves for the meanest offices? Does it exclude from Parliament any sect whatever, however hostile to the doctrines of the Church of England? Does it require an admission of the Divinity of Christ Jesus, or even a profession of belief in the Christian Religion †? Why then it may again be asked, should not the oaths taken by the Roman Catholics be substituted for those appointed under the 3d William and Mary?

The latter oaths, however, may remain : It is not necessary that they should be either abrogated or altered.

* 33d George the III. c. 21. † Idem.

† The oaths required to be taken by Peers and Members of Parliament, are so vague and so peculiarly framed to comfort scrupulous consciences, that one might apply to the Senate-House the following adage, well known in Ireland :

Turk, Jew, or Atheist,
May enter here —
But not a Papist.

tered. If the declaration be abolished, and at the end of the Oath of Supremacy be added the following words : “ That can interfere with the Allegiance due by the Subjects of this realm to his Majesty’s Person and Government,” all objection on the part of the Roman Catholics will vanish. Will any state-juggler pretend, that such an addition would diminish in any respect the force of the existing test ? Does what is called perhaps improperly, the Oath of Supremacy, acknowledge the existence of any spiritual authority whatever ? Certainly not : nor would the Legislature, by such an addition, acknowledge any Ecclesiastical or Spiritual authority whatever in the Pope.

But what necessity is there to argue either that the 3d of William and Mary should be repealed, or that the oaths taken by the Irish Roman Catholics are a sufficient pledge of their allegiance, when the Legislature of Ireland has positively and expressly declared, that, “ all who take and subscribe the oath “ of allegiance, prescribed in an act passed in the “ thirteenth and fourteenth years of his present “ Majesty, OUGHT TO BE CONSIDERED AS GOOD “ AND LOYAL SUBJECTS TO HIS MAJESTY, HIS “ CROWN, AND GOVERNMENT ; that a *continuance* of several of the laws formerly enacted and “ still in force in this kingdom against persons professing the Popish religion, is therefore unnecessary “ in respect to those who take the said oath*.” And THAT VARIOUS ACTS OF PARLIAMENT HAVE BEEN PASSED IMPOSING ON HIS MAJESTY’S SUBJECTS, PROFESSING THE POPISH OR ROMAN CATHOLIC RELIGION, MANY RESTRAINTS AND DISABILITIES TO WHICH OTHER SUBJECTS OF THIS REALM ARE NOT LIABLE, AND FROM THE PEACEABLE AND LOYAL DEMEANOUR OF HIS MAJESTY’S POPISH OR ROMAN CATHOLIC

THE SUBJECTS, IT IS FIT THAT SUCH RESTRAINTS SHALL BE DISCONTINUED.* After this solemn decision of the Irish Legislature, who will pretend that a law so peculiarly severe upon the Roman Catholics, as that which excludes them from Parliament should exist a moment longer? Is it not ridiculous to inflict disabilities on a body of men merely because they profess a religion which the Legislature itself *maintains and even inculcates?* to continue to treat as *traitors and enemies of his Majesty*, those who are pronounced to be *good and loyal Subjects?* To declare that restraints and disabilities imposed *solely upon Roman Catholics* ought to be discontinued; and at the same time to retain a disability so grievous, so so stigmatising, and so degrading? Surely the honour of the Irish Legislature is concerned in removing such an inconsistency; an absurdity, which if suffered to continue, must expose the venerable system of the laws to contempt and ridicule throughout Europe.

That the Roman Catholic Nobility and Gentry, both of England and Ireland, ought to be restored to the rights ingrafted by the laws of the State on the possession of property, to be admitted to a participation of the privileges enjoyed by all other subjects of his Majesty, and from which the Roman Catholics alone are undeservedly and unreasonably excluded; consequently that they ought to be relieved from the disability of sitting and voting in Parliament must be admitted to have been completely demonstrated. What Machiavel, what Robespierre, will dare come forward and pretend that the statutes creating this disability are *essential* to the constitution of the Government in either kingdom? If these statutes were *essential* to the constitution of the Government, the statutes of recusancy, bloody statutes which humanity and religion must ever abhor, which proscribed the whole body of Roman Catholics in both kingdoms,

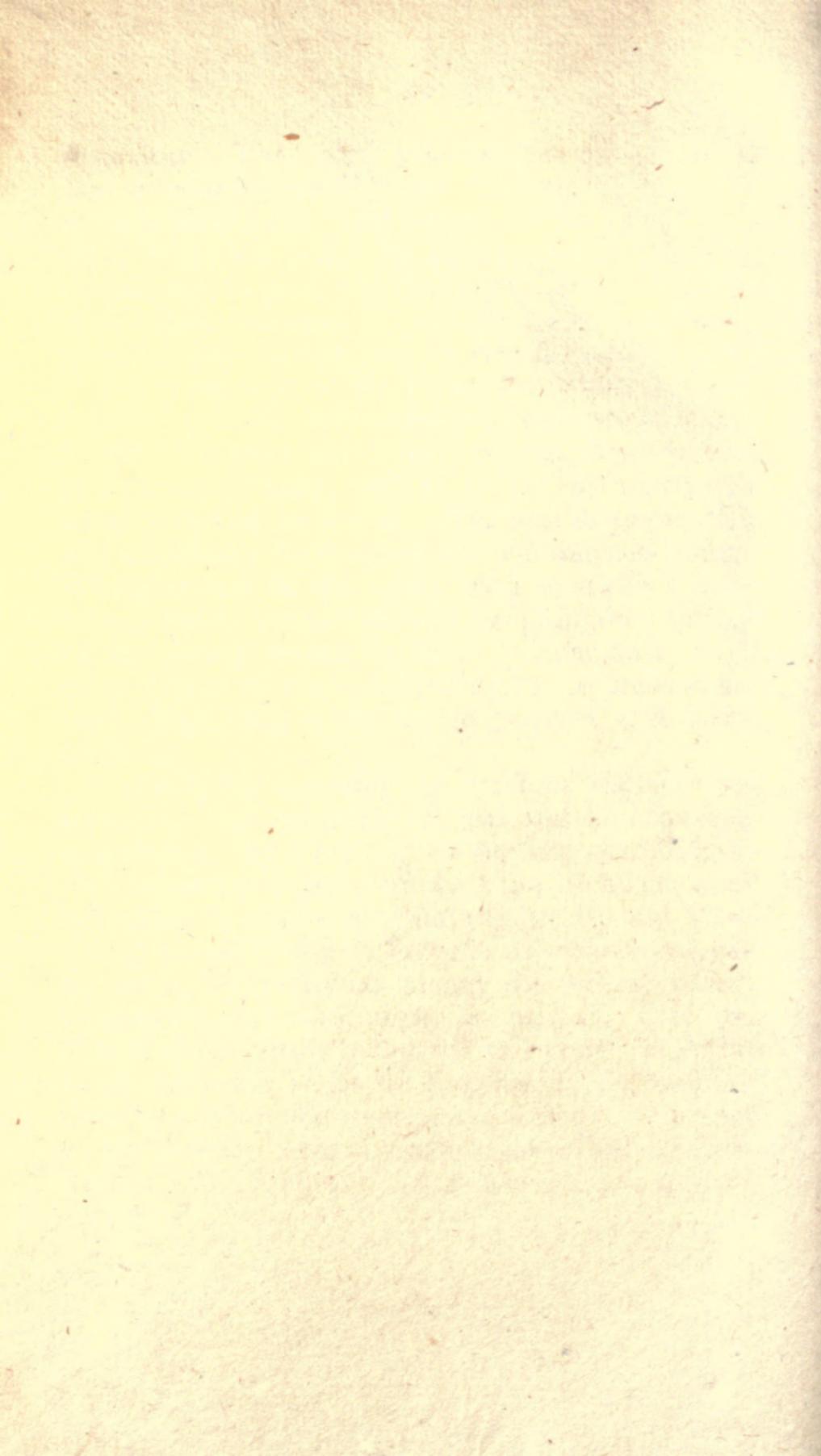
doms, and condemned them both laity and Clergy, to exile, famine, and death, have been its *vitals*. The latter statutes, however, have been repealed, and are now no more; the constitution of the Government therefore would have ceased to exist. Such is the absurdity inevitably resulting from a proposition so monstrous, a proposition which no man can ever venture to affirm, except an enemy to humanity, to religion, and to the happy constitution of the laws.

The repeal or modification of the particular statutes, continuing to inflict such *peculiar severity and hardships* on persons, declared *by law innocent of all imputation*, has been proved to be a measure of indisputable justice; a measure necessary to prevent the most glaring absurdity from disgracing the statute book of both countries; a measure instantaneously requisite, and which the honour of the British and Irish legislatures cannot suffer to be delayed; a measure at all times indispensable; and, in the present moment, when such an important improvement of the constitution of the government is in contemplation, particularly urgent; a measure, which must be effected whether the parliament of both kingdoms be consolidated, or continue to deliberate separately. An Union framed upon a broad plan, having for its object the general happiness of all his Majesty's Subjects, and calculated to accomplish such grand and noble views, must certainly be desirable, may be moreover necessary. If, on the other hand, it should have no other design than to evade the performance of the most solemn legislative engagements, to establish and perpetuate the most oppressive injustice, to keep alive jealousies andcontents, thereby to enable the enemies of order, by deluding the ignorant, by flattering the ambitious, by irritating the discontented, to raise at pleasure political hurricanes, and desolate society; it will be execrable in itself, and ruinous in its consequences.

sequences. That it can be the project of an Union countenanced by his Majesty, proposed by an administration, and submitted to parliaments who, with such benignity and readiness, have all contributed to grant the Roman Catholics considerable relief, none can suppose even for a moment, none but a conspiring Jacobin can impiously suggest.

The propriety of an Union is before the most exalted, and also before the *only competent* tribunal. It will there meet with every serious consideration as to its expediency, and as to the articles upon which it should be settled. The final determination will necessarily be founded on wisdom and justice. Whatever may be the result, both countries cannot be too closely connected, and each kingdom cannot be too firmly united in itself. Unanimity is in every state at all times desirable; in the present moment, Unanimity is essential to political and social existence.

It is only by removing the cause of jealousy and animosity, by redressing all real and well-founded complaints, by granting to persons according to their respective degrees of elevation in society their respective rights, by rivetting the loyalty and affection of all his Majesty's Subjects of whatever denomination, by encircling around the throne, RANK, PROPERTY, and RELIGION in general; that the British Monarchy will be able to oppose successful resistance to the furies of Jacobinism, let loose on earth to destroy the existence of society, who seem to have sworn around the furnaces of hell itself, to subvert ALL AUTHORITY, ALL GOVERNMENT, AND ALL RELIGION.





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